

The Chronicle of Theophanes: An English Translation of the Anni Mundi 6095-6305 (A.D. 602-813), with Introduction and Notes. By Harry Turtledove. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982. pp. 201 \$25.00 cloth.

This is the latest volume in the by now well-known series *The Middle Ages*, edited by Professor Edward Peters. It is the first translation of the latter part, and a little less than half, of Theophanes the Confessor's *Chronographia* from the critical edition of the Greek text, edited by Carolus de Boor (vol 1, Leipzig, 1883). The translation is preceded by an excellent and sympathetic introduction to the Byzantine history of the period, the Byzantine historians, as well as by a careful excursus through the facts and idiosyncracies of Theophanes, the monastic, iconophile author of the *Chronographia*.

Theophanes (d. 818) is an impressive chronicler who, with his precision, wit, and particularly his broad personal experience of the later events, has commanded an outstanding position among the sources of the early mediaeval history, particularly that of the Eastern Roman (Byzantine) Empire. The many reasons as to why his chronicle is a valuable historical document are well stated between pages xiv-xvi of the Introduction. His value is particularly significant for the period defined in this volume, a 'dark period' of Arab-Byzantine relations to which Theophanes sheds ample light. For this period Theophanes has utilized contemporary sources, including a Greek translation of a late eighth-century chronicle written originally in Syriac, which have not survived. Thence his knowledge and report on events taking place in former Byzantine territories, recently become part of the Arab Muslim Empire. One gains interesting information about the Arab conquests of Syria, Palestine and Egypt, the Umayyad caliphate, the Kharijite revolt, the Shi'a-Sunni conflict and the early "Khorasanians" and "Black-cloaks," as Theophanes calls the Abbasids. For all these Theophanes gives names, dates, valuable information, tips, and insights of cultural, religious, and historical nature. In addition to being a source of Muslim-Christian relations during this early period, Theophanes represents a characteristic exponent of the perception, factual or alleged, about Islam and the Arabs by the Christian populace and the Byzantine society at large. Theophanes deals with this aspect of inter-faith relations with neither exaggeration nor pretension, although with his own characteristic anti-Islamic wit.

As far as the Byzantine history is concerned, this portion of the chronicle covers the period from Emperor Phokas up to the beginning of the reign of Michael I Rangaves, a turbulent period politically and ecclesiastically. For these two centuries, Theophanes' chronicle reads like a news digest. Particular emphasis has been given to the events of the first phase of the iconoclasm for which Theophanes is an eye and ear witness,

and an empathetic iconophile himself. He records with precise strokes the high moments of the era as he indulges also on the cruelties, passions and Byzantine intrigues, attributed to, or coming from, the ranks of his ideological and theological opponents, the secularists of the time, the iconoclasts, and particularly Emperor Constantine V, the "Kopronymos".

Although the book is Theophanes', Turtledove must be commended for his contribution on a number of points. His Introduction, even short, is lucid and informative. The arguments against the authorship of the *Chronographia* by George Skynkellos (pp. xi-xvi) are convincing and need to be paid serious attention. The riddle regarding the punctuality, or not, of Theophanes' chronological system is well explained between the pages xvi-xviii, or corrected *in passim* in the footnotes. The bibliography is rather short, but basic for the beginner of this period of Byzantine history. The notes are also of value, especially for the novice of this relatively unknown period. It is only unfortunate that the Index does not include the very many and important items which are mentioned in them. The translation is lively and accurate and reads fluently, or almost fluently. The transliteration of Greek names and toponyms directly from the Greek "without a detour through Latin" (p. xix) with regard especially to their endings from *-us* to *-os*, is a most welcome and commendable initiative. It frees, finally, the study of a Greek source from the grip of the Latin idiom, and allows it to stand on its own soil, with its own physiogomy. However, as this disengagement, still in process, is taking place on the basis of not yet universally determined standards and forms, it is bound to create some confusion and inconsistency. Thus some new renderings are more cumbersome than the previous ones and make the reading of some names almost unrecognizable, like Eutykhes (Eutyches), Thrakesian theme (Thracian theme), Kilikia (Cilicia), Kephalenia (Cephalonia), Kappadokian (Cappadocian), St. Helias (St. Elias) etc.. Also, if the new transliteration aims at producing a more faithful sound to the original, this is not achieved in such cases like Mesembria (for Mesimvria), Blakhernai (for Vlachernai), or Kyklobion (for Kyklovion). And yet elsewhere the translator has 'Saracens' and 'Caucasus' (!) instead, perhaps, of Sarakenoi and Kaukasos, should he have followed his transliteration rules consistently. Some peculiar Byzantine terminology, by being left untranslated (e.g., "Maria was crowned in the triklinos of the Augusteion," p. 91, and "the patrician Niketas the domesticus of the scholae..." p. 156), will certainly leave the reader bewildered. On a specific point, which is of interest to the students of iconoclasm, the translation ("In this year the impious Emperor *began to frame an order*" condemning the august, holy icons", p. 95) has been dictated by a particular view point of the translator regarding the beginning of the iconoclasm and the act of Emperor Leo III, rather than by the ex-

plicit wording of Theophanes (“...ἡρεατο...λόγον ποιῆσθαι...”). I am returning to this point in a manuscript on iconoclasm and the icons to be published soon. But these are, indeed, minor points, and those who find them crucial will have to use the original. Perhaps my most serious criticism is that, notwithstanding the good reason that the translator gives that there are better accounts for the period 284-602 which he has omitted from this volume, and that for this period the *Chronographia* is “unexciting to read and largely derived from previous sources” (p. xiv), the fact remains that, by having left this period out, this particular edition does not make for a complete presentation of Theophanes.

Nevertheless, with this translation Theophanes becomes alive and enters, even belatedly, the Western scholarship of our times. Thus, there is no more excuse for historians and students of the Byzantine era to ignore him. Church historians in particular, who have treated the mediaeval period of church history as an exclusively Latin, or Western pre-Reformation phenomenon, might have difficulty in defending their objectivity and comprehensiveness with Theophanes available now in English. Students also of the history of the Muslim-Christian relations will now have to take into serious account the relations between Islam and Eastern Christendom and revise long standing inaccuracies and platitudes about this so little known side, which poses a characteristically different phenomenon of inter-faith relations than those between Islam and mediaeval Western Christendom. With this translation the student of history is enabled to come into contact with a contemporary source, conveniently and beautifully presented to him, an invaluable experience in itself. Back to the sources! The best service that one can render to scholarship.

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Orthodoxy and Papism, By Archimandrite Chrysostomos. Eetna, California: Center for Traditionalist Orthodox Studies, 1983. Pp. 82. \$4.50 paper.

This small volume is the first publication of the Center for Traditionalist Orthodox Studies, a study and publication program of the Saint Gregory Palamas Monastery (which recently moved from Ohio and relocated in California). Its author, Archimandrite Chrysostomos, Abbot of the monastery and director of the center, has gained much attention for his articulate, common-sense approach to the problem of Orthodoxy in the contemporary world, an approach articulated in a

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NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS

AN IMPORTANT GREEK MANUSCRIPT REDISCOVERED AND REDATED (CODEX BURDETT-COUTTS III.42)*

In 1864 the future Baroness Burdett-Coutts, acting through an agent, purchased from a dealer at Ioanina in Epeiros a collection of more than one hundred Greek MSS, which she had transported to England in 1870–71. There they were painstakingly examined by the biblical textologist F. H. A. Scrivener, who not only used them extensively in his own work, but also brought them to the attention of other scholars.

Among those Burdett-Coutts MSS which Scrivener used most heavily was codex III.42, a Euchologion according to the Byzantine Rite.¹ In addition to its liturgical and ritual contents, this MS contained an extensive NT lectionary (ff. 164–263), which Scrivener used as a source for his valuable calendar of the NT lections used in the Greek Orthodox Church. Eventually C. R. Gregory listed it among the lectionaries (as number 315) in his census of Greek NT MSS.

Scrivener generally assigned codex III.42 to the fourteenth century, but in one place more cautiously spoke of it as “dating from the fourteenth or fifteenth century.”² Gregory and his successors have registered it as a fourteenth-century MS.

It was from Scrivener that C. A. Swainson learned of codex III.42. In his influential and historically important edition of the Greek liturgies and related texts, he published the liturgies of St. John Chrysostom, St. Basil the Great, and the Presanctified Gifts from this MS (ff. 124–63) in their entirety.³ Because of this publication, codex III.42 is much better known to liturgiologists than it is (as lectionary 315) to biblical textologists.

For reasons which he never made entirely clear, Swainson ascribed

*The author would like to express his thanks to Samuel A. Streit, Assistant University Librarian for Special Collections, who generously allowed the MS to be deposited for study in the Annmary Brown Memorial

¹F. H. A. Scrivener, *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament* (3d ed., Cambridge/London, 1883 [1861, 1874]) 78–86, 235, 296, 304, *Adversaria Critica Sacra* (Cambridge, 1893) xvi, xxi–xxv, lxxviii–lxxi

²*Adversaria Critica Sacra*, lxxviii–lxxix

³C. A. Swainson, *The Greek Liturgies Chiefly from Original Authorities* (London, 1884) xxi–xxii, 100–187

codex III.42 to the eleventh century, and because of its presumed date he gave it a central position in his account of the development of the Byzantine Rite. It served him, so to speak, as the middle panel in a textological triptych, connecting the eighth-century text of the oldest extant MS (codex Vaticanus Barberini graecus 336) with the text of the earliest sixteenth-century printed editions.

Not many Greek Euchologia of the eleventh and earlier centuries have survived. There are perhaps two dozen such MSS, about half of which come from Italy (Magna Graecia) and thus do not quite represent the main line of development in the history of the Byzantine Rite. As an eleventh-century MS not of Italian origin, codex Burdett-Coutts III.42 would merit the treatment which Swainson gave it.

The true date of the MS is thus a matter of some interest, especially to liturgiologists. Unfortunately, the MS itself dropped out of sight when the Burdett-Coutts collection was sold in 1922, so that it could not be examined with the aid of modern methods in palaeography and codicology. All that was known was that it had not been acquired by any of the institutions or dealers who bought substantial parts of the Burdett-Coutts collection.

One of the very few Greek MSS at Brown University is described in the Library's card catalogue as a "Greek prayer book, including the liturgies of St. Chrysostom and St. Basil, n.p., ca. 1400?"⁴ A brief examination of this MS is sufficient to reveal that it is the long-lost codex Burdett-Coutts III.42: not only do its text, its several colophons, and its physical form correspond in every particular to the descriptions of Scrivener and Swainson, but its cover still bears the shelf-number III.42, and inserted in it are copies of Swainson's description and the entry for it in the sale catalogue of J. & J. Leighton, Ltd.

The acquisition records kept by the University Library show that the MS came to Brown University as a part of a collection given in memory of a former University Librarian, Harry Lyman Koopman. This collection had been assembled by an alumnus of the University, Philip D. Sherman, who had served as Professor of English at Oberlin College, Ohio. Professor Sherman legally gave his collection to Brown University on 7 February 1925, but retained possession of it until his death, so that it did not actually come to Brown University until 1957. Perhaps it was because of their ambiguous status that the MSS in Professor Sherman's collection were not registered either under his name or under the name of Brown University in S. De Ricci and W. J. Wilson's *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (New York, 1935-40).

⁴Call-number. BX360, A2, 1400, Koopman Collection, MSS.

For the last year the author had been working on a descriptive catalogue of the medieval MSS held by Brown University, and in this connection he examined the former codex Burdett-Coutts III.42 more closely than he had done before.⁵ He can now report that the age of the MS can be determined with considerable certainty, and that even Scrivener's more cautious dating is too early, to say nothing of Swainson's dating. The MS is on paper; and the great majority of the sheets (gatherings 7–38), including the sheets with the texts published by Swainson, exhibit anchor watermarks which belong to V. Mošin's type It.IV.2.f. As Mošin has shown, watermarks of this type are found only in Italian paper manufactured between ca. 1550 and ca. 1600.⁶ Thus the MS cannot have been written before the earlier of these two dates, and is not likely to have been written much after the later of them: it is a MS from the second half of the sixteenth century or the very early seventeenth century, and it is younger than the first printed editions of the Greek Orthodox Euchologion.⁷ All results of earlier liturgical scholarship which depend on Swainson's dating of codex Burdett-Coutts III.42 in the eleventh century, or even on his view that it provides a form of the text intermediate between that of the oldest MS and that of the early printed editions, must now be reviewed, and perhaps corrected.

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⁵A full description of the MS may be found in this catalogue, which the author and C. J. Denning are preparing for publication.

⁶V. Mošin, *Anchor Watermarks* (Monumenta Chartae Papyraceae Historiam Illustrantia 13, Amsterdam, 1973) 50–63, watermarks 1530–1982.

⁷Among the Greek Orthodox Euchologia which have been described in detail there is only one which greatly resembles codex Burdett-Coutts III.42 in its contents: MS 523 in the collection of the Dionysiou Monastery on Mt. Athos, described by A. Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie liturgiĭeskix rukopisej, xranjaščixsja v bibliotekax Pravoslavnago Vostoka*, vol. 2 *Eucholōgia* (Kiev, 1901) 963–67. The fact that this closely related MS was written, according to its colophon, in 1613 may further confirm the ascription of codex III.42 to the second half of the sixteenth century or the very early seventeenth century.

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ANTINOMICAL TYPOLOGIES FOR AN ORTHODOX CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ETHIC FOR THE WORLD, STATE, AND NATION

ALEXANDER F.C. WEBSTER

IN THE LIGHT of the paucity of Orthodox Christian analyses of contemporary ethical problems,¹ any scholarly attempt to construct a framework for an Orthodox social ethic would be a useful contribution to Orthodoxy itself and to the pluralistic realm of academic social analysis. In this essay I shall propose such an ethical framework for relating the rich Orthodox "living Tradition"² to three inter-connected dimensions of contemporary social life: the world (in the global sense of all humanity), the state, and the nation. Is there any basis for developing an Orthodox social ethic in terms of these broad, yet very concrete categories? If so, then how uniform and universal is this ethic and how authoritative for the contemporary faithful who live in vastly different societies and cultures? To what extent can this ethic speak to the concerns of non-Orthodox living in the same societies, particularly the political, intellectual, and social elites whose influence is so determinative in shaping those societies? These are broad questions that demand nuanced, systematic, scholarly responses. Numerous Orthodox scholars have responded to various aspects of the total picture, but a broad synthetic perspective is still lacking. This essay represents, therefore, an initial systematic foray into this relatively unexplored area.

The immediate motivation, however, arises from several dilemmas in peculiarly Orthodox contexts. The exigencies of social life in pluralistic, democratic America have led to anomalous practices by the Orthodox emigré churches in this part of the 'diaspora.' The problems posed by a 'foreign' culture to strongly ethnic churches are equalled in moral significance by the natural tendency of immigrants to assimilate and so to sacrifice their distinctive values: the Orthodox in America manifest both

¹The only Orthodox moral theologian in North America who is engaged in full-time work in social ethics is Fr. Stanley S. Harakas of Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology in Brookline, Mass. Several of his essays are cited below.

²See below p. 224.

contrasting trends! The tenacious preference for monarchical government in predominantly Orthodox countries was thwarted at last and presumably for good with the coup d'état by the colonels in Greece in 1967, and yet isolated pockets of Russian Orthodox in exile from their homeland still long for the days of Tsar Nicholas II and hope for a restoration of 'Holy Russia' replete with monarch.³ At the other extreme, entire national Orthodox churches in Romania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia have adapted surprisingly easily to the supplanting of constitutional Orthodox Christian monarchies with Marxist-Leninist dictatorships. In broader cultural terms, the clerical leadership and perhaps the masses in the Orthodox churches in these countries, as in the Soviet Union, have preferred to stress what they perceive as the continuity with the past that obtains even under the commissars, despite the radical shifts in polity, worldview, and ethics that the new regimes represent. What values undergird and contribute to this perception, and are they harmonious with Orthodox moral tradition? Naturally, full case studies would be prerequisite to any informed answer to this particular question. In the present essay, however, I shall refer to these and other specific historical contexts, particularly the changing situations confronted in the Romanian and Russian churches in order to illustrate the conceptual apparatus. This method of presentation, it should be noted, is actually the converse of the process by which I have derived the conceptual scheme. For empirical investigations into the initiatives and responses of the 'national' autocephalous churches, and the imperial Byzantine church before them, have fostered a more nuanced, case-specific approach than a theologically-based ethic ordinarily can claim.

INCARNATIONAL THEOLOGY AND HISTORY AS NORMATIVE

But this empirical flavor should not be unexpected in any Orthodox analysis of society. Incarnational theology insists that the concrete and historical be taken seriously, especially in ethics, where the primary concern is normative attitudes and behavior for specific *Sitzen im Leben*, or 'life situations.' In a broad sense, history itself is normative for Orthodoxy. All meaning in human life takes as its starting point the historic revelation of God in Jesus Christ: history before the incarnation points toward that decisive event, and history since the resurrection of Jesus must be interpreted in the light of that event. Indeed all of history is *Heilsgeschichte*, or 'salvation history,' and represents the divine economy with respect to mankind, from initial creation, through the in-breaking of the Son of God into history as Jesus (a male Jew who lived his human life in one time

³Recently the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia canonized Tsar Nicholas II and his family as neo-martyrs, a decision with which other Orthodox bodies do not or cannot concur. See "A Russian Sect Canonizes Nicholas II," *New York Times*, November 2, 1981.

and place), to the Parousia when the whole universe will be transformed, specifically transposed out of the historical confines of this aeon of creation. God's respect for his own created temporal order lends itself quite readily to a similar reverence by man for the concrete, specific and material.⁴

The normative quality of history derives its special force from the concrete specifics of the incarnation. Assuming that nothing providential is purely accidental, an Orthodox Christian perceives the time and place of the incarnation as part of the divine economy. In short, that Jesus in his human nature was born into a Jewish home obviously points to the continuing significance of the Old Testament tradition of the Israelites, a claim universally supported among Christian communions. Not so universally affirmed, however, is the equally reasonable contention that a proper respect for the historical dimensions of the divine economy entails an acceptance of the general cultural world-view that prevailed during Jesus' lifetime and that subsequently informed so much of the thinking of the early generations of Christian intellectuals, or church Fathers. Thus, it is deemed no accident that Greek was the *lingua franca* of the Mediterranean world, that all of the New Testament was written first in Greek, that the earliest followers of the risen Jesus eventually broadened their mission to include the Gentiles, and that the philosophical categories used to define the faith for the long haul after the initial, intensely mystical, charismatic years were Hellenistic. As the Son had baptized and elevated the prevalent Hellenistic civilization in the context of his incarnation, so the Church was to transform the world in which it originally found itself. The result, as the late Fr. Georges Florovsky was so fond of saying, was not a degenerate Hellenization of Christianity but rather a Christianization of Hellenism. The pagan Hellenism of the known world was transformed by the early Church, infused with the biblical spirit of the revelations to Israel both old and new, into a Christian Hellenism.⁵ This broad cultural event in the life of the Church is considered at once unique, definitive, and paradigmatic for all times and places. It is presumed, for example, that the thought-forms of the Hellenic and Hellenistic world, which served as the vehicles for the dogmatic formulations of the Seven Ecumenical Synods from 325 to 787 A.D., cannot be surpassed for their philosophical utility. As a formal methodological principle, however, the Christianization of Hellenism also revealed the transformative mode that any Orthodox social ethic would need to manifest.

Having thus stressed the normative quality of history as tradition,

⁴Hence the veneration of icons of Christ as material "portraits" of the transcendent divine Son in his human nature, and of the saints as reflections of Christ's moral perfection

⁵Georges Florovsky, "Faith and Culture," in *Collected Works, 2—Christianity and Culture* (Belmont, Mass., 1974), p. 25

especially in its theological and cultural moorings, I must hasten to add that this tradition (usually capitalized as 'Tradition,' which includes all of God's revelation in history such as the scriptures) is not as static or time-bound as may at first seem. True Tradition in the Orthodox sense is always a "living tradition"⁶ not to be reduced to archaic or contemporary customs or mores. The essential content is unchangeable, because that content is the personal revelation of God in and as the Living Christ, who is the same yesterday, today, and forever (Heb 13.7). But this Tradition grows and matures organically, or 'changes' in the application to specific situations or in the appropriation of it by the Church in different times and places. Thus, a kind of dialectic is involved that theoretically prevents simple repetition and stultifying rigidity. The dynamic transformative method that gave birth to the Tradition in the first place allows for nothing less than a living Tradition to serve as both the starting point and the purpose—the alpha and the omega—of Orthodox thinking about the world on any level. And yet as historical situations are new, one must think anew: this dynamic principle or organic growth allows for truly creative theology and ethics within the Tradition. Such is the nature of the conceptual framework that I shall propose in this essay.

The normative role assigned the incarnation also leads to a uniquely theological context for constructing an ethic within the Orthodox Tradition. Again the exemplary life and teachings of Jesus, as interpreted in particular by the historic church Fathers, form the starting point. As Fr. John Meyendorff observes, the preponderance of moral exegesis of scripture and ascetical treatises prayer and the spiritual life-style, combined with the lack of any truly systematic work on Christian ethics, "implies that Byzantine ethics were eminently 'theological ethics.'"⁷ There is no possibility of a secular morality or a philosophical ethic that could claim real value from the perspective of an Orthodox who stands within the totalistic Tradition. Among contemporary Western Christian theologians, Karl Barth also insisted that for Christians ethics must be fundamentally theological. Where the Orthodox would differ from Barth is the precise configuration of his theological ethic. Although some Orthodox theologians such as the Russian emigré, Fr. Sergius Bulgakov, have accepted the Western stereotype of Orthodoxy as aesthetic, mystical, and other-worldly,⁸ Orthodox dogmatic theology presents an all-encompassing world view, particularly a vision of the transfiguration of

⁶John Meyendorff, *Living Tradition: Orthodox Witness in the Contemporary World* (Crestwood, N.Y., 1978), p. 7f.

⁷John Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology* (New York, 1974), p. 226.

⁸Sergius Bulgakov, *The Orthodox Church*, trans. Elizabeth S. Cram (New York, 1935), p. 179: "the ideal foundation of Orthodoxy is not ethic, but religious, aesthetic; it is the vision of 'spiritual beauty.' "

the universe. The Armenian lay theologian, Vigen Guroian, has recently provided a useful typology of the theological foundations for an Orthodox ethic that should generate renewed interest in Orthodox ethics by ecumenical Western theologians as well as, I hope, the Orthodox themselves.⁹ As a preliminary observation, I would modify Guroian's typology in the direction of a more selective, streamlined set of five concepts deeply rooted in Orthodox incarnational theology that together provide a unique configuration for the purpose of deriving a social ethic.¹⁰ These include the following: *theosis*, the process of divinization through moral and spiritual 'transfiguration' and the source of the teleological mode of all Orthodox ethics; *askesis* and *philanthropia*, the twin means of theosis for individual persons epitomized respectively in self-limitation and other-directed love; and *leitourgia* and *sobornost*, two corresponding means of theosis directed primarily toward the collective community of the faithful, providing a 'mysteriological' or sacramental link between God and humans living in an ecclesial "mode of being,"¹¹ the perfect truth and social character of which are modeled after the divine prototype of the Holy Trinity, a loving 'community' of Persons sharing one essence.¹² If these several theological concepts do indeed reflect the core of the anthropological component of Orthodox Tradition, the conclusion seems inescapable that Orthodox ethics, to take a cue from Fr. Meyendorff's judgement above, are eminently social as well as theological.

In what follows, therefore, I shall presume this theological base as I draw an ethical continuum for each of the three dimensions of contemporary life. The ultimate result should be a tripartite matrix that leads to a more encompassing social ethic.

ANTINOMICAL TYPOLOGIES FOR A SOCIAL ETHIC

Even a cursory examination of the history of Orthodox Christian

⁹Vigen Guroian, "Notes Toward An Eastern Orthodox Ethic," *Journal of Religious Ethics*, 9 (1981), 228-44.

¹⁰I plan to present this modified foundation for an Orthodox theological ethic in a subsequent essay.

¹¹This ontological emphasis appears most succinctly in Christos Yannaras, "Proclamation and Articulation of the Christian Faith," in *The New Valamo Consultation: The Ecumenical Nature of the Orthodox Witness* (Geneva, 1977), p. 65f.

¹²For exemplary explanations of these terms by contemporary Orthodox theologians, see Vladimir Lossky, *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church* (Greenwich, S.C., 1957), esp. pp. 9, 97 (*theosis*); Georges Florovsky, "Christianity and Civilization," *Collected Works*, 2, 128 (*askesis*); Demetrios J. Constantelos, *Byzantine Philanthropy and Social Welfare* (New Brunswick, 1968), pp. 19, 32 (*philanthropia*); Alexander Schmemmann, *For the Life of the World: Sacraments and Orthodoxy* (Crestwood, N.Y., 1973), pp. 26-28, 42f., 45f., 55 (*leitourgia*); Bulgakov, *Church*, p. 75; and Guroian, "Notes," p. 233 (*sobornost*).

responses to the dilemmas posed by being 'in' the world but not 'of' it would reveal less than perfect consistency. Individuals are in a sense unique in their positions, but the apparent paradox of the diverse positions of the Church runs deeper than that normal expectation. Actually differences according to time and place are of the order of broad 'trajectories' through history¹³ —movements of thought and action from initially murky starting points (which themselves stand within previous trajectories) along dynamic historical lines that do not necessarily harmonize well and may seem mutually exclusive. And yet these trajectories all claim more or less solid support in the experience and Tradition of the Church: they reflect attitudes and practices still present to some degree in the total Orthodox experience, not just empirically but essentially as well.¹⁴ This does not imply an eclectic or loosely synthetic combination of disparate perspectives. For some of the ethical positions are indeed irreconcilably contradictory in thrust, and, taken together, represent absolute paradoxes.

Here lies the intriguing enduring value of the heritage of the formative centuries of the Church. For that heritage is a fundamentally *antinomical* one replete with paradoxes and 'mysteries' that defy and transcend logical explanation. Fr. Bulgakov explained the antinomical process of conceptualization as follows:

An antinomy simultaneously admits the truth of two contradictory, logically incompatible but ontologically necessary assertions. An antinomy testifies to the existence of a mystery beyond, which human reason cannot penetrate. This mystery nevertheless is actualized and lived in religious experience. All fundamental dogmatic definitions are of this nature... [The] paradoxes of faith...are inevitable, not because the divine reality is self-contradictory, but because when we "objectify" it all our judgements are in some measure falsified.... There should always be a sense of tension between the two opposite sides of our paradoxes, driving us back to their source in our actual religious experience.¹⁵

¹³For the concept of "trajectories" in church history, I am indebted to the signal work of James M. Robinson and Helmut Koester, *Trajectories Through Early Christianity* (Philadelphia, 1971), especially pp. 8-14. These two students of Rudolf Bultmann envision a "process-oriented" metaphysics toward which the perspective of "trajectories" is designed to contribute, but that should not prevent its use here as a perspective on the organic growth of the ethical branches of Orthodox Tradition

¹⁴Referring to one typological scheme discussed below, Fr. Harakas observes perceptively in "The Church and the Secular World," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 17 (1972) 184: "There is need, I believe, to emphasize all three of these dimensions of the relationship of the Church and the world and to keep them in dynamic tension and not to succumb to the ancient temptation of subsuming all experiences under the rubric of one "

¹⁵Quoted in *ibid* , p. 183

The most obvious and most significant antinomy in Orthodox dogmatic theology is the Divine Triad (or 'Trinity' in Western parlance): one God in three consubstantial hypostases, or Persons. Ethically perhaps the most obvious antinomy was that which allowed for the Christianization of the Roman Empire, resulting in the worldly Byzantine society and the concurrent proliferation of monasticism—the antinomy of "empire and desert," as Fr. Florovsky, the most prolific antinomical theologian, christened it.¹⁶ The Orthodox acceptance of such seeming paradoxes, so much at variance with highly rationalistic tendencies in the West, recalls the spirit of the Old Testament book of Job, wherein the protagonist is content at the end of the narrative to accept an experience of theophany in lieu of a rational discursive explanation by God of the reasons for Job's misfortunes. Theophany, indeed, is a powerful pervasive symbol in the Tradition.

So instead of imposing a smoothly homogeneous superstructure, it may be advisable to rest content with the antinomies that leap from the pages of history, while duly noting their complex interrelations. Thus, the typical positions for each category of social ethics may be seen as at once disparate and somehow reflective of the Church itself, not in a perfect or fixed proportion but with considerable variation according to time and circumstance. Yet this "shifting balance" means that the several types of ethical expressions "will be in constant and unrelieved tension until the world truly and fully in God's good time becomes the Kingdom of God."¹⁷ The historical record in fact supports this view, beginning in the New Testament era itself.

By stressing this mystical suprarational dimension, however, I do not wish to preclude an attempt to devise a conceptual apparatus both for explaining the diversity of social ethical positions in Orthodox history and for reaching some kind of understanding relevant to the existential dilemmas of the present. The acknowledgement of antinomy does not necessarily diminish the possibility of a coherent social ethic. After all, any typology is a heuristic device that tends to oversimplify real complexities, and the perception of an antinomy is fundamentally typological in nature. Within each of the antinomies that arise in Orthodox moral tradition a normative or 'mainstream' trajectory can be detected that tends to transcend the usual dualistic antinomical structure insofar as this trajectory contains within itself a tentative resolution of the antipodal positions. At the same time, however, this normative trajectory fails to attain an all-inclusive, universal status, for how can any attempt by humans, however divinely-inspired, to grapple with the dilemmas posed by fallen life achieve perfection or pretend to be equally applicable to all conceivable social situations? This

¹⁶Florovsky, "Antinomies," 2, 67-100.

¹⁷Harakas, "Church," pp. 182, 187.

mitigating factor also keeps these normative positions from being identified as Hegelian syntheses: the dialectic I propose here is not so neat or simple (if one can even use these adjectives with respect to Hegel). For the antinomical character of the typologies persists, since the normative positions, as imperfect resolutions, remain in antinomical relation to their antipodes and represent not the *only* ethical choices in their respective categories but simply the best usually of the three basic options. The normative positions are most likely to be useful as bridges between antinomical extremes, and this highlights their significance as the mainstream trajectories in the historical development of Orthodox Tradition.¹⁸ This significance, moreover, is not mitigated by the relatively few manifestations of these mainstream trajectories in the history of the Church. That some historical examples can be cited is alone sufficient to establish the validity of these trajectories in keeping with the thrust of incarnational theology and the epistemological implications of *sobornost'*¹⁹ truth, whether moral or dogmatic, is not a function of quantitative categories such as universality in time and place but rather is derived qualitatively from conformity to the absolute divine reality.

The three typologies that follow represent an attempt to deal with the three fundamental levels of social life on a large scale from the standpoint of the Orthodox Church. That this is the only possible standpoint for constructing an Orthodox social ethic follows from the preceding elucidation of the ecclesial context of any Orthodox theological, and hence, social, ethic. Concepts and methods are borrowed, however, from other academic disciplines. Thus, a sociological approach is used in addressing the problem of social ethics on its broadest ecclesiological level—namely the Church and the world, or humanity on a global scale. The next sphere of relations in this concentric scheme—that of Church and state—requires a political perspective. Finally, in order to focus on the smallest of the three units—the nation of ethnic group²⁰—an anthropological or cultural perspective provides a starting point. For each of these spheres I shall

¹⁸In effect, I may be trying here to have my cake and eat it, too. I recognize the conflicting impulses that issue in acceptance of a basically dualistic antinomical structure on the one hand, and, on the other, in a determination to achieve some kind of reasonable solution to such a suprarational dilemma. The careful efforts to qualify the terms that I employ reflect this realization. In a deeper sense, however, the conflict may be only apparent and indeed typical of the inner "logic" of the antinomical mentality itself.

¹⁹The original proponent of this term, Alexei Khomiakov, the nineteenth century Russian layman, in *The Church Is One* (New York, 1953), p. 20f, pointed to the depths of truth that *sobornost* claims. The Church (i.e., Orthodox alone) is one, holy, and catholic because "her very essence consists in the agreement and unity of the spirit and life of all the members who acknowledge her, throughout the world."

²⁰Depending on the historical context, I suppose, the second and third spheres of this "concentric" scheme could be reversed. For example, the government or political elite of

offer a tripartite antinomical typology that includes two antipodal positions plus a third normative trajectory. Historical examples and the views of contemporary Orthodox theologians will be cited to illustrate the actual manifestations of the various types and to suggest the dynamic quality of these trajectories (as opposed to Weberian 'ideal types'). I shall suggest one or more passages from the New Testament, at the risk of ignoring their *Sitzen im Leben*,²¹ as the starting point for each trajectory to highlight both the antinomical nature of Church life from its inception and the dynamic process of ethical development. Together, it is hoped, these three typologies will amount to a three-dimensional matrix for an Orthodox social ethic.

A Sociological Typology: Church and the World

Numerous theologians, both Orthodox and Western, have proffered typological explanations of the various ways that Christian groups have related to the world. H. Richard Niehbur's five-part christological typology has gained wide acceptance in the last generation,²² but the most useful approach is still the classic sociological typology by Ernst Troeltsch. He detected three main types of development in Christian thought that were 'foreshadowed' from the beginning and occurred alongside one another within the various Christian communities:²³ (1) church-type, which accepts the masses and is able to adjust to the world because of the objective 'treasures' of grace and redemption; (2) sect-type, a voluntary society, a small group of believers apart from the world who emphasize law instead of grace, love within their own circle, and preparation for the coming Kingdom of God; and (3) mysticism-type, which represents liturgical and doctrinal ideas "transformed into a purely personal and

a modern nation-state certainly is smaller in size than the population of the nation, and "politics" is tantamount to a subset of culture. But I am allowing in advance for the peculiar Orthodox circumstance throughout the last sixteen hundred years, wherein the political reality at least was ecumenical in scope, as epitomized in the Byzantine and Russian empires, and nationality was originally subordinated to the imperial political structure and culture. Only with the disintegration of these Christian empires as a result of conquest by alien powers was Orthodox political theory gradually reduced to conform to the modern Western notion of the nation-state.

²¹As any student of higher criticism of the Bible knows, the scriptures do not provide neat, universally applicable position statements on controversial social issues. To extract passages from their contexts obviously is a violation of the integrity of the New Testament documents and a poor substitute for exegesis. The nature and scope of the present essay, however, does not allow for such exegesis, so, having apologized at the outset, I hope I shall be forgiven for using the selected passages heuristically.

²²H. Richard Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture* (New York, 1951).

²³Ernst Troeltsch, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*, trans. Olive Wyon (London, 1931) 2, p. 993.

inward experience" and, as a result, socially lacks a permanent form and an appreciation of the significance of historical Christian traditions and institutions. One Orthodox moral theologian who has utilized this typology is Fr. Stanley Harakas who cautions, however, that this "triune view of the Church and the world" should not be perceived as a set of competing alternatives but rather as antinomical aspects of a total answer, all three of which are "fluid components...in a dynamically balanced tension ever-ready to respond to the varying and unique conditions of each time and place in which the Church meets the world."²⁴ One important modification, however, is in order. Troeltsch's third type does not seem to fit with the others. It represents an individualistic attitude essentially devoid of a social content; if anything, it is anti-social or anti-society and can be subsumed under the sect-type.²⁵ Meanwhile, the first type is too inclusive and fails to allow for degrees of acceptance of the world. Therefore, the following modified typology is preferred: sect-type, worldly-type, and church-type.²⁶

Sect-type. This reflects a predominantly apocalyptic, separatist view of the Church *in* the world but having little to do with the world as presently constituted. Scriptural examples of this abound in the New Testament and include above all the so-called "synoptic apocalypse" of Jesus (Mt 24) and the book of Revelation, both of which are pervaded by a harsh judgmental tone towards the sinful world and threats of violent divine intervention. The Johannine communities on occasion also manifest a tendency in this direction. The Johannine *kosmos* is all that is alienated from and at odds with God, is "not of the Father" (1 Jn 2.15) and therefore cannot be loved. In 2 Corinthians 6.14-18, a sharply dualistic passage appears suddenly, in which Saint Paul uses light/darkness and Christ/Belial contrasts, perhaps derived from Qumran, to accentuate the

²⁴Harakas, "Church," pp 180ff, especially p 184

²⁵My use of the sect-type category, as evidenced below, also differs from Troeltsch's emphasis on voluntarism and legalism that was rooted in his European environment. An example of an inaccurate and simplistic assessment of "Slavic" Orthodoxy in America as a "sectarian church" is Joseph Hayden, "Slavic Orthodox Christianity in the United States: From Culture Religion to Sectarian Church" (Unpublished Ph D Dissertation, State University of New York at Buffalo, 1973), especially pp 17f, 68f. This term was devised by Hayden as a Weberian ideal type and supposedly combines aspects of Troeltsch's church and sect types. The basic problems are Hayden's overemphasis on ecclesiastical "multiplication" (which lacks proper appreciation for the unique, temporary "diaspora" status of the U S) and his exaggeration of the symptoms of democratic polity on the parish level.

²⁶These three types actually more closely parallel, respectively, Niebuhr's "Christ against culture," "Christ of culture," and "Christ the transformer of culture" in his *Christ*, chs 2, 3, 6. An argument can be advanced for the church-type as "Christ above culture," especially in light of the spiritualizing tendency so evident, for example, in the popular acceptance of soul-body similes for political and social contexts. But the preponderance of "transfiguration" motifs points to the transformative relation as primary.

radical separation of believers from unbelievers. That this passage hardly fits well into the pragmatic Pauline tolerance for 'the weak' in spirit and for the Gentile world generally is not especially problematic for the present essay; similarly, the equally fervent Johannine concern for the salvation of the world should not detract from the significance of the sectarian spirit manifested in 1 John. These New Testament passages, as well as the overtly apocalyptic ones, simply provide the seedbed for one social ethical trajectory.

The motivating force for this trajectory is a rejection of the world or a substantial portion of it. Ironically, this obtains whether the Church is suffering persecution from a hostile power or is allowed to exert a powerful, positive influence in the society. Thus, monasticism arose on the Egyptian fringes of the Byzantine Empire and developed into a permanent 'resistance movement' in the Christianized empire, just as the Church itself had been an organ of dissidence in the pagan Roman Empire before the Peace of St. Constantine in 312 A.D..²⁷ To be sure, monasticism at its best is not so much a categorical, judgmental rejection of the world as it is an eschatological reminder to Christians in society that this aeon and the world will pass away and that the Kingdom of God will be fully established only by God's direct intervention at the eschaton. Similarly, the Orthodox canonical corpus, which features a number of explicit prohibitions against clerics engaging in certain 'secular' economic or political pursuits,²⁸ reflects dual standards pertaining to clergy and laity not as a sectarian rejection of the 'secular,' for such a sacred/profane dichotomy does not exist in the transfiguration-oriented Orthodox Tradition, but rather as a functional differentiation in order to safeguard the exalted theotic value of the *mysteria* celebrated and mediated by the clergy. Nevertheless, both monasticism and the canons in question tend to foster a degenerate reactionary dualism that conceives of the world in virtually absolute negative terms, bereft of God's grace. Thus, Metropolitan George Khodr of the Patriarchate of Antioch, sensing that contemporary technological civilization may produce its own reactionary antithesis among Orthodox, confesses his "fear that the Christian milieu, overcome by an increasing development of man's potential, might hide in an apocalyptic chatter, in a yearning for lost spiritual values, and in the hysterical catastrophism of regressive people."²⁹

A reasonable detachment from a world that suffers the effects of sin is the positive ethical outlook contributed by the sectarian trajectory. This

²⁷Florovsky, "Antinomies," p. 88

²⁸See my essay, "The Canonical Validity of Military Service by Orthodox Christians," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 23 (1978) 258-62

²⁹George Khodr, "The Church and the World," *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly*, 12 (1969) 47

perspective is especially relevant when the Church must confront either of two threats: one from a demonic, aggressively hostile political power or cultural environment, and the other from a too cozy identification of Church and culture. In the contemporary world, there is less danger of the latter but case after case of the former, and the outlook is quite bleak. In many parts of the world, particularly in the Soviet bloc of communist states, the political climate seems to have reverted to the stormy days of the pagan Caesars, and the Church is faced with a real moral option of becoming a 'catacomb' community or of jeopardizing its moral integrity. Thus, Metropolitan Antony Khrapovitsky of the emigre Synod of Karlovtsy, issued in 1927 a ringing denunciation of the *modus vivendi* between the communist leadership of the Soviet Union and his hierarchial counterpart back home, Metropolitan Sergios, who had pledged full allegiance to the new order. In Antony's estimation, this was "unheard of...entirely alien to the Church, destructive and perilous, capable of creating new and terrible disorder in the Church and giving occasion to fear for the purity of Orthodoxy in Russia."³⁰ The telltale term in that statement is purity, always a preoccupation with those who incline toward a sect-type social ethic.

But this understandably sectarian response to the crisis thrust upon the Orthodox Church by the anti-Christian Soviet government has gradually deviated along a more extreme trajectory. The recent history of the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia, now headed by Metropolitan Philaret, the second successor to Antony, suggests that this schismatic body may be attempting to establish a 'parallel network' of ecclesiologically and politically conservative sectarian Orthodox Churches including the Old Believers, the catacomb True Orthodox Church in Russia, and the Old Calendarists in Greece, who oppose the official abandonment of the Julian calendar in favor of the Gregorian. Philaret's church apparently has broadened its original anti-communist *raison d'être* to incorporate equally staunch confessional stands on what it perceives as the 'heresies' of 'ecumenism' and 'modernism'.³¹ The true sectarian intensity of this schismatic movement is revealed by the tendency of many adherents, though not yet official episcopal encyclicals, to regard the Moscow Patriarchate in particular, and those Orthodox Churches in communion with it (that is, the vast majority) as devoid of grace and hence ecclesiologically

³⁰See Metropolitan Antony's untitled encyclical in *The Christian East*, 8 (1927) 178-81. For an explanation of the historical context of this disagreement among Russian Orthodox, see my essay, "Concerning Christians in the Soviet Military: Several Russian Orthodox Views," *Diakonia* (1978) 148-51.

³¹This speculation appeared originally in George Huntston Williams and (Alexander) Frederick Cameron Webster, "The Revolutionary Plight of Russian Orthodoxy," *The Unitarian Universalist Christian* 41 (1976) 97f.

null and void. In that event, reasonable sectarian rejection of a portion of the world will have mushroomed into an acrimonious judgement against most of the Church itself, a sect-type trajectory destined for ethical and spiritual disaster.

Worldly-type. This designates a ready, often uncritical acceptance of the terms or 'agenda' of the world for the existence of the Church and defers as a matter of course to the existing structures of a society and its government. This type represents the other extreme trajectory in the sociological antinomy. Naturally, there are along this trajectory degrees of worldliness, some more extreme than others. But what ethical positions of this genre have in common is the tendency, conscious or not, to ignore the latter half of the declaration in Jesus' high priestly prayer (Jn 17) that his disciples are 'in' the world but not 'of' the world. The positive value of this perspective is its unmitigated respect and appreciation for the created order, particularly man as a creature who retains the image of God and the potential for achieving his likeness despite the Fall of the protoparents. Man and, by logical extension, society and the cosmos are naturally good and worthy of love. The ethical thrust of this trajectory may be summarized this way: it is better to err lovingly in behalf of the world than hatefully against it.

Scriptural starting points are difficult to find, perhaps owing to the adversary relations in the New Testament era between Christians and, on the one hand, the Jewish establishment, on the other, the Roman imperial structure and ethos. But whereas estrangement characterized the political relations, the Jewish and Greco-Roman cultures were gradually adopted by the Church. A uniquely positive disposition toward the latter permeates the Lukan writings. The 'salvation history' that Saint Luke develops is effectively bracketed by gratuitous references to the reign of Caesar Augustus, the governorship of Quirinius of Syria, the Roman census (Lk 2.1-3), and the arrival in Rome of the gospel according to Saint Paul (Acts 28.16). For Saint Luke the reality of Rome dictated the course of the divine economy. Similarly, his narrative of Saint Paul on the areopagos in Athens (Acts 17.22-31) is a masterpiece of worldly-type evangelism: Saint Paul attempts, alas unsuccessfully, to assimilate the divine Christ to the pagan Athenian pantheon epitomized in their statue to 'an unknown god.' In none of these instances does Saint Luke (or Saint Paul) seriously compromise the integrity of the gospel message, but one standard of reference for the Christian mission is the given worldly establishment. This quite simply is the worldly-type at its ethical best.

An acceptance of the world on its own terms may demonstrate a kenotic *philanthropia* by the Church and its faithful or it may degenerate into ethical blindness to the danger contained in the third temptation of Christ. A classic example of the former is Saint Basil's canonical advice to Christian soldiers in the Byzantine Empire. Although Saint Basil justified

killing in wars, he still imposed the penance of excommunication for three year's duration, for the Church can never offer its unqualified approval to those who undertake such a dirty, albeit presumably mandatory, business.³² The key aspect here is Saint Basil's presumption of the unquestionable necessity for the soldier's profession: his concession to this worldly concern takes the form of a qualified endorsement of participation by Christians in such a manner that they are deemed to perform a profoundly noble, ascetic, kenotic act in behalf of the society of the empire. The less auspicious tendency within this trajectory seems to be finding fertile ground in the Orthodox Churches in Eastern Europe, where Marxist-Leninist socialism has reigned supreme in all its ruthless exclusivism for much of the current century. To be sure, there are degrees of compromise, just as the Orthodox Churches varied in their worldliness before the advent of communist rule. The new wave, however, is unprecedented insofar as its source is an atheistic messianic ideology that boasts of a secular global vision, which is cosmic in proportion to the parochial nationalisms or petty politics to which some Orthodox Churches formerly pledged allegiance. Even an outstanding level-headed dogmatic theologian like Fr. Dumitru Staniloae of Romania is not unaffected by the inroads that communist social theory has made in the Romanian Orthodox Church. One veiled reference to socialist 'justice' appears in an otherwise innocuous section of a recently translated collection of essays, wherein he suggests that Christians who are "aware of their own solidarity as victims of injustice" must "produce more satisfactory forms of social life...to meet contemporary aspirations for greater justice, equality, and fraternity in man's relation to men."³³ More typical of the trend is the bold clarion call for a New Economic World Order by Nicolai A. Zabolotsky, professor at Leningrad Theological Academy and member of the staff of the World Council of Churches.³⁴ The Church should "support all creative acts which raise the world on to a higher level of consciousness and perfection."³⁵ He calls for a prudential evaluation of "the relative worth of the capitalist and socialist paths of development," but lest one wonder what the result would be, he has already professed his faith in the dialectual materialist philosophy of history: "Slavery, feudalism, capitalism,

³²For an analysis of canon 13 of Saint Basil, see Webster, "Canonical Validity," pp 273-75

³³Dumitru Staniloae, "The Orthodox Doctrine of Salvation and Its Implications for Christian Diakonia in the World," *Theology and the Church* (Crestwood, 1980), p 210 These "contemporary aspirations" are those which derive chiefly from revolutionary Marxist movements

³⁴Nicolai A. Zabolotsky, "The Churches' Responsibility in the World Today," in *The New Valamo Consultation*, p 82

³⁵Ibid , p 78

socialism, or communism are all different stages in the development of human society, bringing with them their own particular problems of Christian service."³⁶ This sentiment is a long way from Saint Paul in Athens, but I would contend that they share a place on the same worldly-type trajectory. The spirit is essentially the same, even if by the time Zabolotsky expresses it it has suffered considerable corruption.

Church-type. This is by far the most common vision of the normative relations between Church and world and serves as the 'mainstream' of sociological-ecclesiological thinking about ethics in Orthodox Tradition. This type manifests a limited appreciation of the historical process and stresses the mission of the Church to effect at least a partial transformation of the world despite its own often overwhelming fallen character, in anticipation of the eschatological Kingdom of God. It is in and of itself an inherently antinomical perspective that recognizes the reality of the Church as basically alien to the world as presently constituted but also affirms the necessity, however difficult, of bridging the chasm. Commissioned by the risen Christ to "make disciples of all nations" (Mt 28.19), the Church ought to respond to this divine imperative by striving to convert the world into the Church or, less triumphalistically, to share the foretaste of the heavenly Kingdom with all the world, while suspecting, perhaps believing without doubt, that this mission will never meet with success. Where this type offers a decided advantage over the worldly-type is in the realization of the power of sin in the world; where the church-type generally conforms more closely to the divine economy of the Son, the founder and 'head' of the body of unbelievers, is the central role assigned to *philanthropia* as a motivating force in relating to the world.

Indeed, this middle trajectory is truly normative in its theological, ethical inspiration, as is evident from the outset in the scriptural witness. The flip side of Johannine sectarianism is a marvelous mysteriological-liturgical approach to the cosmos. The frequency of divine-ascent motifs and the profoundly epiphanic use of matter as symbols of the immanence of the divine in the created, albeit fallen, world furnish a sound scriptural starting point for the subsequent development of the Orthodox doctrines of the *theosis* of man and the transfiguration of the created order in general. The world and all its darkness may be set against the Church and 'light' of revelation (Christ the Logos breaking into the world—Jn 1.9; 8.12), but this world is still called by a loving God to be transfigured and set on a new course toward God through his Church; the same God "so loved the world" (Jn 3.16) that he offered his Son in a free act of *philanthropia* on a truly cosmic scale. The Matthean and Pauline writings also demonstrate compassion for the world. Saint Paul offers a uniquely mystical-ethical perspective on the crucified Lord who, "reconciling the

³⁶Ibid., pp. 80, 73.

world to himself, not counting their trespasses against them" (2 Cor 5.19), serves as the ultimate source and model of person and world-transforming *askesis*: "he died for all, that those who live might live no longer for themselves but for him who for their sake died and was raised" (2 Cor 5.15). Lest there be any hesitation to direct this transfiguration toward the world, the divine imperative appears categorically throughout the gospels for the Church, the "salt of the earth" and "light of the world" (Mt 5.13f), the catholic community characterized by *sobornost*, to "let your light so shine before men" (Mt 5.16) that the world may return to the source of all good and perfect things.

Among contemporary Orthodox theologians the church-type trajectory has achieved a rather stabilized consensus. In his own Troeltschian typology, Fr. Harakas clearly sets the church-type on center stage and affirms the necessity for "the Christian to contribute to the transformation of the world."³⁷ Fr. Staniloae observes that today, "perhaps more than ever, Christ draws the world toward himself in a state of continuous change," and that "the universe is called to become the eschatological paradise through the agency of fraternal love." This is not a humanistic utopianism, however, for the "material universe, like mankind itself, is destined for transfiguration through the power of the risen body of Christ."³⁸ Fr. Schmemmann cautions against falling victim to false dichotomies such as spiritual/material or sacred/profane, which obscure the primary, priestly role of man, reborn mysteriologically in the life of the Church, as the *homo adorans* who "stands in the center of the world and unifies it in his act of blessing God, of both receiving the world from God and offering it to God" and who "by filling the world with the Eucharist...transforms his life, the one that he receives from the world, into life in God, into communion with Him."³⁹ The antinomical quality of the church-type trajectory appears clearly in the "open attitude" urged by the lay theologian, Nikos Nissiotis:

Orthodox ecclesiology does not accept the secular order without criticism of injustice. Without separating church and world...it allows the church to identify itself with the world, sharing all aspects of family, social, and national life, yet on guard against every danger of conformism.

³⁷Harakas, "Church," p. 173

³⁸Staniloae, "Orthodox Doctrine," pp. 205, 211f. An implicit social and economic egalitarianism is also part of his eschatological theotic vision: "Only if all men are united can they transform the world and respond to the call to treat the world as a gift, as the means of mutual exchange. When we share in the material goods of the universe we must be conscious that we are moving in the sphere of Christ, and that is by making use of these material things as gifts for the benefit of one another that we progress in our union with Christ and with our neighbor (p. 212)."

³⁹Schmemmann, *For the Life*, p. 15

Orthodox ecclesiology can lead the church to a pluralistic solidarity with the suffering, the poor, a nation fighting for its freedom, in which laity and clergy are equally responsible; but not for a moment does the word that it preaches in this situation imply a passive acceptance of the given patterns of economic, social and national life.⁴⁰

Similarly, the Russian layman, George P. Fedotov, argued in behalf of "the path of 'condescension.' " For the Church to change the social and political is "beyond its power," yet the gospel "introduces into the world a new principle of religious sociality which is bound, like the leaven in Christ's parable, to leaven the whole lump."⁴¹ Specifically, social reform of the glaring economic inequalities in the world, as urged by Saint John Chrysostom and Saint Basil in fourth century Byzantium, is a primary mission of the Church for the world. This does not condone violence and class hatred, however, for "the only earthly remedy" that the Fathers could prescribe for their time was the ethical virtue of almsgiving, which is both transformative and redemptive.⁴²

Finally, two divergent positions within the church-type trajectory should be mentioned in order to illustrate the diversity included under this rubric. Bishop Gregory of the Russian Church Outside Russia appears willing to accept the transformative mission of the Church but only reluctantly, as the following remarks intimate:

We can and should love all the excellent things which the Lord created, but the Church has not been directed to transfigure the world by earthly means. It plants the Kingdom of God within us and adorns the world by the influence of its holiness, but in no way is it commingled with the world.⁴³

He probably rests on the 'cusp' between church and sect types. The Church "has not been promised an earthly victory over this world" so "it must be our task to create an environment in which we can live according to the Church's laws and principles, even if we are surrounded by its enemies, but not to create worldly institutions even in subjection to the Church."⁴⁴

⁴⁰Nikos A. Nissiotis, "Church and Society in Greek Orthodox Theology," in John C. Bennett (ed.), *Christian Social Ethics in a Changing World: An Ecumenical Theological Inquiry* (New York, 1966), pp. 88, 91

⁴¹G. P. Fedotov, "The Church and Social Justice," *St. Vladimir's Seminary Quarterly* 7 (1963) 139, 135. This could be interpreted also as a Niebuhrian "Christ above culture" expression.

⁴²Ibid., pp. 139-42.

⁴³George Grabbe, *The Dogma of the Church in the Modern World* (Jordanville, 1976), p. 16. He wrote this before his episcopal consecration.

⁴⁴Ibid.

In stark contrast, Metropolitan Khodr declares that in the experience of faith "Church and world do not exclude each other, are not two ontological opposable entities." At the eschaton the cosmos will be "totally transformed into the Church," so the Church is "the whole universe in the soteriological and eschatological dimension into which the Resurrected has introduced it."⁴⁵ But then Khodr's optimistic vision becomes clouded by an untraditional ecclesiology, wherein he accepts the Protestant notion of the 'repentant church' and criticizes the alleged customary confusion of the Church as 'Christ's body' with Christ himself.⁴⁶ When Khodr also objects to an 'historical Orthodoxy' that "so comfortably joins a pseudo-monastic manicheism to an enslaved bourgeois conservatism," he is probably knocking down his own straw man, but he happens to reveal his own inclinations toward a church-type trajectory that allows for a greater impact by contemporary worldly values than is normal for an Orthodox theologian beyond the immediate Soviet orbit.⁴⁷

A Political Typology: Church and State

Using the term political here to refer to the institutional exercise of power by the governing authorities within a geographic entity, I wish to propose a highly schematic typology for an Orthodox political ethic.⁴⁸

Separation-type. Separation of church and state, an American hallmark, is a comparatively recent phenomenon. In the history of the Church the only precedent occurred during the first three centuries of its existence, when, having been born into generally hostile Jewish and Roman political environments, the Church had to struggle and persevere under the intermittent persecution of the established authorities. Separation of church and state, which parallels the sectarian trajectory in sociological-ecclesiological practice, seemed necessary as a condition for survival to significant segments of the early Church. Two scriptural passages witness to nascent forms of this tradition and serve as origins for the separation trajectory. In Acts 2.44-47 (compare 4.32-37) the infant Church seems to have turned inward and established its own policy of governance, which includes a political structure headed by the apostles and a vision of pure social-economic communism. The larger political and social contexts fade from significance for this self-contained community. The exigencies of

⁴⁵Khodr, "Church," p 38

⁴⁶Ibid , p 39

⁴⁷Ibid , p 35 The Patriarchate of Antioch, however, has close fraternal ties with Moscow and the Patriarchate of Moscow

⁴⁸This is a rather popular topic for Orthodox church historians, but there is not much literature that analyzes this relation from a normative ethical perspective

life probably led to drastic changes in short order as this community, pumelled by a hostile Jewish establishment, turned to the Gentile world, and the resultant influx of diverse peoples proved the long-term folly of strict separation from the prevalent structures in society. This social experiment has never been repeated in Orthodox Tradition except in the monastic communities, but even these normally are canonically subordinated to diocesan bishops who must deal with "secular" political authority. A more enduring teaching is the renowned "render unto Caesar" passage (Mt 22.20f). Exegetically, this is little more than a clever evasion of a mischievous trap set by Jewish antagonists of Jesus, but the power of the saying has transcended its original context and provided a basis for those who would justify some sort of dichotomy between Church and state.

The separation trajectory has surfaced again most prominently in the works of theologians confronted by the political realities in the U.S. and U.S.S.R.—a strange pairing indeed. Metropolitan Antony Khrapovitsky refused to recognize the communists as the lawful rulers of Russia merely because they happened to occupy the seats of authority. Since the Church "cannot bless anti-Christian, much less atheistical, politics," Antony and the Russian Church Outside Russia called for non-collaboration and even non-violent resistance to the Soviet state. His political ethic, however, was conditioned by the nature of the political authority, specifically whether it is Christian or anti-Christian. In the case of a Christian state, by which he presumably meant Holy Russia, the Church should 'bless' its 'political life.'⁴⁹ Bishop Gregory echoes this statement when he warns of the spiritual danger inherent in the subjection of the Church to "a non-religious state,"⁵⁰ a more inclusive category that would include the U.S.. A radically different, far more optimistic view of the latter situation comes from Fr. Harakas.⁵¹ And yet the end result of his virtual defense of the American tradition of separation is to place him on the same political trajectory. To be sure, his tone is positive, accepting the conditions of separation, whereas the thrust of the anti-communist Russians is decidedly negative. Harakas even endeavors to prove that aspects of the classic Orthodox political principle of *symphonia* (see below) can be successfully paralleled in a deontological 'ethical mode' to the components of the American system of separation. The ultimate futility of this exercise is

⁴⁹See note 53.

⁵⁰Grabbe, *Dogma*, p. 18. He also criticizes the Byzantine and Russian monarchies for their tendency to reduce the Church to "a servile position."

⁵¹Stanley S. Harakas, "Orthodox Church-State Theory and American Democracy," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 21 (1976) 399-421. Cf. Bulgakov, *Church*, pp. 188, 190, who suggests that "the ultimate influence" of the Church on the life of the state "will only be increased by the separation of Church and state" that, "under different forms, has replaced the ancient alliance."

apparent in the semantic gymnastics to which Harakas feels compelled to resort: "the State can be considered Christian when its inner being is moved by the values, the spirit, the truth and the life of the Church and inasmuch as the State permits the Church to act through its faithful as free citizens in a free state," which becomes then "a particular kind of 'Christian State.'"⁵² It is certainly debatable whether the American political system is genuinely open to the influence of the Church, especially since a militant secularization trend that began with the expulsion of prayer and Bible readings from public schools seems to have gained renewed momentum recently with the often apoplectic reaction by certain liberal Christians and non-Christians against the so-called 'religious right' epitomized by the Moral Majority. That the U.S. is a 'kind' of Christian state, however, is little more than the wishful thinking of Karl Rahner about 'anonymous Christians' writ large on a political scale. Harakas' acceptance of the American system, however naive from traditional Orthodox political standpoints, springs from a sincere desire to assist the Orthodox Church in this diaspora setting to contribute to the political and cultural life of the nation. And yet the political ethic that he espouses still limits the political role of the Church in such a way that the Church essentially forfeits its right to take the initiative in political decision-making. The 'secular' governmental authorities call the shots and the Church can only respond, and then in cautious ways that do not exceed its proper bounds. Ecclesiastical self-limitation in conformity with secular political standards is the primary characteristic of the separation-type, whether of the positive supportive variety or the negative reactionary style. Given the current political realities throughout most of the world, this trajectory may be the only possible realistic ethic for most Orthodox Churches.⁵³

Cosmocracy-type. For most of the two millennia of Orthodox Church history its relations with political structures customarily would be described as theocratic: a close harmony of Church and state with an underlying religious principle. A better term, however, would be 'cosmocratic' insofar as the Church usually found itself in those situations subordinate to the political powers. Even in 'holy Russia,' for example, beginning with the reign of Tsar Peter I, one could say with Ernst Benz that the "last vestiges" of the political freedom and autonomy of the Church were "snuffed out" on the basis of what Fr. Bulgakov perceived as a Lutheran concept of "the supremacy of the monarch in the Church."⁵⁴ The earlier

⁵²Harakas, "Church-State," p. 416. The implied inner/outer dichotomy is ontologically impossible from an Orthodox ecclesiological perspective

⁵³I am inclined to agree with Nissiotis, "Church," p. 101, that the Church "should never introduce a separation between sacred and profane or ecclesial and secular," but when others have imposed such a separation the Church ought to endeavor to "incorporate everything into the Body of Christ by a *martyria*," or positive witness, even if this includes martyrdom

Byzantine experience was at once quite lofty and majestic in theory but often dismal in practice in terms of a genuine theocratic harmony. But one could argue persuasively that the Church had already lost its moral integrity when it allowed, even encouraged, the Emperor Theodosios I to use the full political power of the Byzantine Empire in his proclamation in 381 A.D. to force orthodoxy upon the citizenry under penalty of being "completely barred from the threshold of all churches" and possibly exiled from cities as criminals against the theocracy.⁵⁵ The concept of the emperor as the political image of God on earth, which Eusebios first formulated in his encomium for Saint Constantine,⁵⁶ reflected a theological understanding of structure and order in the universe under God's monarchy that owed much to a platonizing tendency in Byzantine thought. But this iconic concept gave rise to abuses of imperial power over the ecclesiastical leadership (though never to the extent that the misleading term "caesaropapism" connotes⁵⁷) and, what is worse, really derived its operative meaning from pagan political theory. As Steven Runciman shows:

It was Platonic thought, transmitted by such interpreters as the pagan Plotinos, the Jew Philo, and the Christian heretic Origen, which as combined with the Oriental tradition of Hellenistic monarchy and the pragmatic authority of the Roman Emperor, that formed the foundation on which Eusebios built up his theory of government.⁵⁸

The theocracy that Emperor Justinian I legislated in his sixth *Novella* ostensibly fostered "a happy concord" between the priesthood in its ministry "to things divine" and the imperial authority "set over... things human," both of which were deemed to "proceed from one and the same

⁵⁴Ernst Benz, *The Eastern Orthodox Church Its Thought and Life*, trans Richard and Clara Winston (Garden City, N Y, 1963), p 173f, Bulgakov, *Church*, p 183 In time this Lutheran notion came to be fortified by an Hegelian emphasis on the monarch in the nation-state

⁵⁵*Codex Theodosiani* 16 5 6, text in *The Theodosian Code and Novels and the Sirmondian Constitutions*, trans Clyde Pharr (Princeton, 1952), p 451

⁵⁶Steven Runciman, *The Byzantine Theocracy* (Cambridge, 1977), pp 5-25 Cf my essay, "Varieties of Christian Military Saints From Martyrs Under Caesar to Warrior Princes," *St Vladimir's Theological Quarterly*, 24 (1980) 15-17

⁵⁷This term has been laid to rest by Deno Geanakoplos, "Church and State in the Byzantine Empire A Reconsideration of the Problem of Caesaropapism," *Byzantine East and Latin West* (New York 1966), pp 57-83 In particular, he notes that especially after the Iconoclastic controversy in the eighth and ninth centuries the emperors were able to impose their will on the doctrine of the Church only during their own reigns and then usually amidst public outcry The so-called "liturgical privileges" of the emperor were no more than "sacramentals" (μυστηριακαὶ τελεταὶ) for he was no more than a layman who had not even received the "setting aside" (χειροθεσία) of the minor orders of clergy

⁵⁸Runciman, *Theocracy*, p 162

source.”⁵⁹ But this only masked the “tragic flaw” in Justinian’s theory that Fr. Schmemmann has described as the failure of the Roman state “to understand the Church’s ontological independence of the world.” The Church could not be the “soul” to the empire’s “body,” for that resulted in a relation “between two authorities, the secular and the spiritual, within the state itself.” Thus was the Church disembodied, ghettoized, and relegated to the political sidelines as a spectator for “the victorious return of pagan absolutism.”⁶⁰ In the last two centuries of the Byzantine Empire, the imbalance between Church and empire, as personified respectively in the offices of patriarch of Constantinople and emperor, shifted in favor of the Church.⁶¹ Emperors with uniate proclivities such as Michael VIII compelled the people to turn for leadership to the clergy and monks and away from the heretical emperors as the empire crumbled around them. But so dominant was the political power of the emperor over the patriarch that half of the twenty-six patriarchs of Constantinople, from 1261 to 1453 A.D., resigned or were deposed by the emperor for essentially political reasons.⁶² Thus, despite noble pretensions to a theocratic ethic, the churches of the Byzantine and Russian empires allowed themselves to endure what were no more than cosmocracies.

This cosmocracy-type has roots in the New Testament naturally, and the trajectory that originates there and progresses through the “theocratic” centuries of Orthodoxy continues to dominate Orthodox political ethics. When Saint Paul and Saint Peter urged obedience to the “governing authorities” or “emperor” (Rom 13.1-7; Tit 3.1; 1Pet 2.13-17), little did they know, presumably, that their pastoral advice to particular communities confronting peculiar circumstances would be inflated into all kinds of justifications for political conservatism in support of whoever happens to be in power at the time.⁶³ The submission of the Church to the political structure has become a virtually normative practice for large segments of the individual Church on the grounds that divine providence is behind the actions of even the most heinous anti-Christian rulers as a chastisement for the sins of the Orthodox. Other Orthodox hierarchs and theologians, particularly those in communist-dominated states, have

⁵⁹Text in Ernest Barker, *Social and Political Thought in Byzantium From Justinian I to the Last Palaeologus* (Oxford, 1957), p 76

⁶⁰Alexander Schmemmann, *Historical Road of Eastern Orthodoxy* (Crestwood, N Y , 1977), pp 148, 151, 153

⁶¹Donald M Nicol, *Church and Society in the Last Centuries of Byzantium* (Cambridge, 1979), p 19

⁶²Ibid , p 29

⁶³I have attempted elsewhere to show exegetically that St Paul apparently had no intentions of furnishing a political theory in the conventual sense of the term See “St Paul’s Political Advice to the Haughty Gentile Christians in Rome An Exegesis of Romans 13 1-7,” *St Vladimir’s Theological Quarterly*, 25 (1981) 259-82

welcomed the rule of atheistic communists as if they were modern Byzantine or Russian emperors. Thus, in his *Declaration* of 1927 Metropolitan Sergios of Moscow assured the Soviet leadership that the Church was “at one with our nation and government” and that the Orthodox faithful could “identify in every respect with the USSR as their ‘civil fatherland.’”⁶⁴ During the Second World War, Sergios was able to refer to Stalin as our “great, God-given leader.”⁶⁵ In communist Romania also the Orthodox hierarchy has generally exuberantly supported the socialist policies of the government on the grounds that these have served the causes of social justice, specifically, in the words of Bishop Antonie Plamadeala, “equality in rights and duties, peace, freedom, and cooperation among all people in a spirit of brotherly love.”⁶⁶ But unequaled in his zeal for collaboration was the recent patriarch of Bucharest, Justinian, who reigned from 1948, the year of the communist takeover, until his death in 1977. The following lengthy quotation captures the full flavor of his “secular theocratic” vision of Church-state relations in the new socialist order:

The wisdom and realism of our state leaders, who interpreted in the most perfect way the will of the people, gave us the possibility to create a new legal position of equality, reciprocal respect, and harmonious collaboration among the religious bodies in our country. In Romania, there is no state religion, but no religious body is separated from the state. We live in full union and collaborate towards raising the material and spiritual standard and happiness of our people, being fully convinced that the prosperity of the country will have an impact upon our churches and other religious bodies. A perfect and permanent cooperation was set up between our state and the religious bodies, and we can say that the believers of all of them take part in solving the great problems with which our state is confronted, in working for a better and happier life for our people, because they are convinced that while they hold religious beliefs, they are also citizens of the country in which they live...The Romanian Orthodox Church lives within the state and recognizes its authority. Our church is present and active within the state, not only because the members of the church are also members of the

⁶⁴Text in Matthew Spinka, *The Church in Soviet Russia* (New York, 1956) pp. 161-65. For an historical-ethical analysis of this document, see Webster, “Concerning Christians in the Soviet Military,” p. 148f.

⁶⁵Quoted in Williams and Webster, “Revolutionary Plight,” p. 81

⁶⁶Bishop Antonie, “Church and State in Romania,” in *Church and State: Opening A New Ecumenical Discussion* (Geneva, 1978), p. 104. He also repeats the common refrain that there is “true and perfect religious freedom and rights” in Romania (p. 95), while admitting that the “autonomy” and religious freedom of the Church are subordinated to “state sovereignty”! (p. 96)

state, but also because a close natural relation was set up in the common interest of the members of the church and the citizens of the state: that of the state and church.⁶⁷

Finally, it should be noted that even Greece, the last supposedly theocratic Orthodox state, is hardly theocratic in the ideal Byzantine sense. The state tends to dominate the inner life of the Church, which is not really surprising for a political structure created after the Greek Revolution against Turkey in the 1820s and patterned after the Bavarian Protestant territorial church.⁶⁸ Similarly, most of the Orthodox national kingdoms in the Balkans established in the nineteenth century were essentially cosmocratic, inspired by Western European concepts of nationalism and the nation-state. Thus, the tenacity of the cosmocratic-type of political ethic must be acknowledged even as its relative value can be challenged.

Symphonia-type. Before I outline the characteristics of this elusive middle type, it is necessary to address the question of whether an imperial theocracy is essential to any Orthodox political ethic. The classic view is exemplified in a letter of Patriarch Antony IV of Constantinople dating from about 1395 A.D.:

It is not possible for Christians to have a church and not to have an empire. Church and empire have a great unity and community; nor is it possible for them to be separated from one another. The only emperors that Christians refuse to acknowledge are heretics who have attacked the Church and introduced doctrines that are corrupt and alien from the teaching of the Apostles and the Fathers.⁶⁹

Fr. Harakas, however, has pronounced the idea of an Orthodox Empire "dead" and indicative of a "museum piece mentality," and I believe he is right.⁷⁰ Fr. Bulgakov also questioned the dogmatic connection between Orthodoxy and autocratic imperial power and concluded that the place of the emperor as "God's anointed" in the Church is not essential as the apostolic hierarchy is to the existence of the Church. The royal image of Christ is not a political idea but one "wholly religious," which "may be realized in a democracy, by an elected representative of power, a president, quite as well as by an autocrat."⁷¹ It would seem that the precise form

⁶⁷Quoted in *ibid.*, p.104.

⁶⁸Harakas, "Church," p. 409f.

⁶⁹Text in Barker, *Social and Political Thoughts* p. 195. He cites 1Pet 2:13-17 in support of his argument for the necessity for an emperor—a weak case indeed.

⁷⁰Stanley Harakas, "The Orthodox Approach to Modern Trends," *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly*, (1969) 7f.

⁷¹Bulgakov, *Church*, p. 185f. Cf. Harakas, "Church-State Theory" p. 415f, for a similar

of government is not integral to the Orthodox political ethic. After all, the emperor is no more, and while Jesus promised that the gates of hell would not prevail against the Church (Mt 16.18), He apparently said nothing about emperors. Indeed, prudence and the experience of this century would lead a contemporary Orthodox to agree with Lord Acton about absolute power corrupting absolutely and with the insight of the Protestant theologian, Reinhold Niebuhr: "Man's capacity for justice makes democracy possible; but man's inclination to injustice makes democracy necessary."⁷²

Symphonia has been defined concisely by Fr. Harakas as the principle "according to which Church and State cooperate as parts of an organic whole in the fulfillment of their purposes, each supporting and strengthening the other without this causing subordination of one to the other."⁷³ The antinomical quality of this middle trajectory of political ethics is obvious: preserving the independence and sufficiency of the ecclesial and political governmental structures while not separating the two into spiritual and secular authorities is no mean feat. In fact, there is no outstanding manifestation of it in the practice of the Orthodox Church. Scripture is rather silent on this true theocratic possibility, owing undoubtedly to the peculiarly inhospitable political climate during the New Testament era.⁷⁴ The only passage that may have served as a starting point for this trajectory is Saint Paul's magnificent metaphor of the diversity within the Church as the "body" of Christ (1Cor 12.12-31). Divine assignment of roles according to function is the underlying principle here as in the theory of *symphonia*. But the Apostle clearly limits his image to the community of the Church. The classic presentation in Byzantium of the symphonic ideal, which basically remained that, was the *Epanagoge* ("Introduction") of Saint Photios, Patriarch of Constantinople in the ninth century during the reigns of Emperors Basil I and Leo IV. Photios defined the Christian emperor as "a legal authority, a blessing common to all his subjects, who...behaves like an umpire making awards in a game." He must be Orthodox and pious and "is presumed to enforce and maintain" the scriptures, ecclesiastical doctrine, and the civil laws. But he is bound to follow canon law!⁷⁵ The patriarch of Constantinople (by this time the only Eastern patriarch free from Muslim domination) is described "as a

case for the assumption of the functions of the *basileus* by the *laos* in modern democracies, most notably the U S

⁷²Reinhold Niebuhr, *The Children of Light and the Children of Darkness* (New York, 1944), p xiii

⁷³Harakas, "Church-State Theory," p 399

⁷⁴The Old Testament should prove more fertile ground for such non-monarchical theocratic ideas

⁷⁵*Epanagoge*, 2 See text in Barker, "Social and Political Thought," pp 89-91

living and animate image of Christ by deeds and words typifying the truth." His role is to protect and witness to the faith, care for the salvation of the faithful, alone interpret the Church canons, and supervise "all spiritual matters." In terms reminiscent of Saint Paul above, Photios declares that the emperor and patriarch are "the greatest and most necessary" parts and "members" of the *politeia*.⁷⁶ Several problems arise with respect to the continued usefulness of this stage of the *symphonia* trajectory. The role of the patriarch is too elevated for Orthodox collegial ecclesiology and, as Runciman observes, "more suited to a Roman pontiff than to a Byzantine prelate."⁷⁷ Photios also presumes an emperor and assigns too much of a positive religious role to him.

Nevertheless, the principle of *symphonia* is rooted in Orthodox two-natures christology⁷⁸ and cannot be discarded by the Church without tending toward either of the extremes of separation or cosmocracy. The task ahead for Orthodox moral theologians who are concerned about the ethical dangers inherent in these two trajectories is to furnish a political theory of Church-state relations in the *symphonia* trajectory that affirms the necessity of an organic relation between the two entities in an Orthodox Christian context while safeguarding the religious liberties of non-Orthodox members of the given society. What is called for is nothing less than a vision of a democratic theocracy!

A Cultural Typology: Church and Nation

The last typology for an Orthodox social ethic that I wish to consider concerns the relation of the Church to the more immediate social communities in which the autocephalous Churches are situated—in short, the problem of nationalism. This term has become the object of considerable scholarly reflection across disciplinary lines. One theorist of political culture, Daniel Elazar, has furnished a particularly useful, concise taxonomy of categories pertaining to this basically modern phenomenon.⁷⁹ A *nation*, he suggests, is a community with a threefold sense of common descent, culture, and territoriality.⁸⁰ It should be distinguished from a *state*, which is a formal political structure, and a *public*, a less 'organic'

⁷⁶*Espanagoge*, 3. *ibid.*, pp. 91-93.

⁷⁷Runciman, *Theocracy*, p. 95.

⁷⁸Meyendorff, *Theology*, p. 193.

⁷⁹Daniel Elazar, "Covenantal and Ethnic Dimensions in Modern Nationalism." Public lecture for the Ph.D. Colloquium in Religion, U. of Pittsburgh, February 10, 1982.

⁸⁰Cf. the explanation of physical and "spiritual" components in Stefan Zankov, "Nation and Church in the Orthodox Lands of Eastern Europe," in Kenneth S. Latourette, et al, *Church and Community* (London, 1938), pp. 144-48. I am dubious, however, about his emphasis on an "irrational" dimension of the nation as above all "a great spiritual entity" and "an idea of God" (p. 148).

or close-knit body with a shared community of interests over an extended period of time. The latter category best expresses the shift in the last hundred years or so, particularly in the industrialized Western democracies, from the nation-state to the *citizen-state* in which all citizens within the territorial boundaries of a political state share civil privileges and responsibilities and a loose sense of common identity. This contrasts sharply with the *ethnicity* that has tended to be synonymous with nationalistic sentiment and derives its special emotive force from the physiological component of the modern nation—a sense of racial or ‘blood’ commonality among individuals, irrespective of where and under what political and civil circumstances they happen to be living. Elazar has introduced yet another category that seems remarkably relevant to the purposes of the present paper. A sense of moral consensus epitomized in what he terms the “covenantal synthesis” has ancestral roots in the Hebrew people of the Old Testament times and appears to have exercised a formative influence in the nations of Northwestern Europe, where a revival of covenantal theology and polity occurred as a result of the Protestant Reformation. The United States, as a cultural extension of the English Reformation combined with the revolutionary and contractarian political thought of the Enlightenment, is perhaps the most successful modern example of a covenantal synthesis, despite its comparatively radical openness or looseness that continually threatens the loss of *moral* consensus.

Applying this cultural-political scheme to the problem of nationalism in Orthodox ethics, I shall, therefore, outline three trajectories that parallel those in the other two typologies above: *ethnos*, or nation; public, or citizenry; and people.

Ethnos-type. The Greek word for nation, τὸ ἔθνος (literally “a body of men”), seems well-suited to depict this type with its dual overtones of nationalism and ethnicity in the modern sense. But the ancient scriptures already provide a solid starting point for this trajectory. The struggle of the early Church over the ethnic question is legend and has preoccupied Orthodox theologians in every era. How necessary was Jewishness to the Church and to what extent, if any, could other nations (Greek-τὰ ἔθνη) become part of the eschatological Kingdom of God, of which a foretaste was possible in the Church? In some sayings of Jesus the priority of Israel as the chosen people of God is presumed, sometimes in an exclusive sense as in the “lost sheep” passage (Mt 10.5-7). Saint Paul, the preeminent Apostle to the Gentiles who refers to the Gentiles as “fellow heirs” (Eph 3.6) and whose pragmatic evangelism was exemplified in Athens, stresses in a highly problematic section of his most theological epistle the special relation that still obtains between the “chosen” Jewish nation and God and indicates that the Gentiles enjoy only a somewhat secondary status in the plan of salvation (Rom 11). In Acts 6 the ethnic controversy between Hebrew and Greek-speaking Jewish believers threatened to rend

the spiritual unity of the original Church in Jerusalem until appointment of the first deacons solved the problem temporarily. When the mother Church at last decided upon the conditions for admission of Gentiles into the community (Acts 15), the die was cast for a universal, ecclesiastical mission with the nations on a more or less equal basis. The condescending tone of St. James' decision at the Council of Jerusalem, however much of an ethical breakthrough the act itself represented, still allowed for a sense of ethnic superiority and has served as a formal model for subsequent positions along the ethnos-type trajectory. Ironically, the relative positions of the groups have been reversed, for the Orthodox Churches have tended to regard various Gentile nationalities as normatively Christian, and the Jews as beyond the pale (often literally, especially in Eastern Europe), ethnically inferior at least, and worthy of condescension at best.

In the history of nationalism in the Orthodox Church the need to distinguish between 'ought' and 'is,' or normative ethics and mere historical description, is particularly acute. For the ethnos-type trajectory has been quite pronounced, even normal in practice, despite its antipodal place in the antinomical typology for nationalism. One way of appreciating this need is to try to explain the nature of nationalism in the Orthodox churches in the modern era. One Orthodox theologian in England has lamented, "Nationalism has been the bane of Orthodoxy for the last ten centuries."⁸¹ But Frs. Meyendorff and Schmemmann point to the Western, romantic type of nationalism since the French Revolution with its excessive emphasis on "native" aspects and the principle of self-determination as the source of the particularly divisive nationalisms that have emerged in the Orthodox churches in the Balkan peninsula.⁸² This phenomenon of glorified racial distinction contrasts sharply with the ecumenical transnational vision of an Orthodox Empire in Byzantium and even tsarist Russia and in principle has been condemned as "phyletism" (Greek: ὁ φυλετισμός—"blood union") by the Synod of Constantinople in 1872 and as "ethnoracism" by Patriarch Joachim of Constantinople in 1904.⁸³ Another cause of Orthodox nationalism of the Balkan variety was the tragic experience of Orthodoxy under the Ottoman Turks after the fall of Byzantium in 1453 A.D. Forced to adopt to the "millet" system in this Muslim empire, the Balkan Orthodox peoples, conquered by the Turks, found their nationality officially identified by their Orthodox faith.⁸⁴ Since the Turkish political authorities preferred to deal with single

⁸¹(Kallistos) Timothy Ware, *The Orthodox Church* (Baltimore, 1964), p.86

⁸²Meyendorff, *Theology*, p 199f, Schmemmann, *Road*, pp 289-91.

⁸³Ioannes N. Karmiris, "Nationalism in the Orthodox Church," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 26 (1980), 172f The Bulgarian theologian, Zankov, "Nation," pp 139-44, vigorously challenged the decision of this synod in terms of parochial motivation

⁸⁴For this explanation I am indebted to Steven Runciman, *The Orthodox Churches and the Secular State* (New Zealand, 1971), pp 27-38

administrative leaders for each millet, the chief hierarch of the Orthodox millet, the patriarch of Constantinople, became an *ethnarch*, a ruler of the Orthodox "nation," whose duties included the fiscal, judicial, and ecclesiastical administration of the Orthodox nation within the empire. This unique leverage, plus a growing sense of nationalism, eventually led to nationalistic movements among all Orthodox peoples. Fueled by Western romantic concepts of nationalism, these nationalistic movements, nevertheless, retained a vestige of the millet mentality insofar as they fostered the development of nationalist churches, usually after the German state-church model but self-consciously Orthodox nonetheless.

The potential of the ethnos trajectory for deviating from the philanthropic spirit of Orthodox Tradition is best illustrated by the development of the Russian messianic ideal and by episodes in the history of the Romanian Orthodox Church since the beginning of the nineteenth century. The former phenomenon has been amply researched, so I shall offer a few sketchy observations about some of the peculiar forms of Romanian Orthodox nationalism.⁸⁵ Before the unification of Transylvania with the Romanian provinces after the First World War, some Romanian Orthodox leaders such as Bishop Andreiu Saguna of Transylvania "implied that the ritual and practices of Romanian Orthodoxy were peculiar expressions of the Romanian soul and that it was upon their strength and vitality that the spiritual and intellectual progress of the Romanian nation would ultimately depend."⁸⁶ This kind of relatively moderate mystical nationalism evolved into a more virulent form in the Legion of Archangel Michael founded by Corneliu Codreanu beginning in the 1920s. One Legionary ideologue claimed that their principles were "anchored" in the gospel and that the movement was primarily "a religious idea"—namely, that peoples are "a divine creation" and that only by remaining in "close contact" with the Church does a people, or nation, avoid going astray.⁸⁷ Codreanu himself related the significance attached to the icon of Saint Michael in the ritual and lore of the Legion, but these aspects of the

⁸⁵The idea of a "Russian soul" was acceptable to the otherwise unusually spiritually perceptive writer, Fyodor Dostoevsky. Scholars such as Berdyaev and Fr. Bulgakov attempted to explain the success of Marxist socialism in Russia on the basis of complementary messianic visions.

⁸⁶Keith Hitchins, "The Sacred Cult of Nationality: Rumanian Intellectuals and the Church in Transylvania, 1834-1869," in Stanley B. Winters and Joseph Held (eds.), *Intellectual and Social Developments in the Hapsburgh Monarchy to World War I* (Boulder, 1975), p. 148. Saguna's use of the familiar Byzantine soul/body analogy to the presumed relation of Orthodoxy to nationality did not, however, prevent him from stressing the need for the Church to remain independent of governments and national politics (pp. 147, 150).

⁸⁷Horia Suma, *Historia du movement Legionnaire*, 1, 1919-37 (Rio de Janeiro, n.d.), p. 62.

movement seem to have been shaped by the pagan heroic tradition of the ancient Greeks as much as by Orthodoxy.⁸⁸ But this ostensibly religiously-motivated nationalism is probably better described as xenophobic, romantic, and populist in spirit, with the religious trappings serving primarily to legitimize the acrimonious sentiment that inspired intensive hate-mongering against the Jews, communists, and political bureaucrats who, it was believed, were oppressing the native ethnic Romanians, the most "pure" and noble remnants of which were the peasants.⁸⁹ Thus, this strange amalgam, which managed to gain mass support even among the lesser clergy,⁹⁰ although it was always viewed with suspicion by many Orthodox especially among the ecclesiastical hierarchy, reveals the extent to which the Church and its traditions can be co-opted by nationalistic movements.⁹¹ The ethnos-type cultural ethic then has very little to recommend it, even in the U.S. where ethnic rivalries have distracted the Church from its primary mission of offering the gospel of salvation to everyone. Ironically, it could be argued that the Romanian Church in the contemporary communist state has fallen victim, officially and on a much larger scale than the Legionary Movement, to the same nationalistic foible in its obsequious subservience to the regime in the name of the Romanian people. But the remarks of some of the hierarchy of the Church suggest that their attitudes and behavior derive from a quite different trajectory.

Public-type. The opposite antipode in this antimony is the cultural trajectory that parallels the worldly and cosmocracy-types. Instead of conceiving the nation in terms of ethnicity or blood union, the public-type proffers the civil society as the standard cultural organizing principle. As such it tends to defer to whatever political structure and ethnic mix happens to be found within the territorial limits of a given society.

⁸⁸Corneliu Zelea Codreanu, *For My Legionaries (The Iron Guard)* (Madrid, 1976), pp 227-30 References both to "the Gods" and to Jesus Christ abound

⁸⁹The anti-Semitic element was especially potent In particular, Codreanu, "*Legionaries*," pp 59, 23f, condemned the "cowardly and perfidious penetration" of Jews into positions of power and influence in commerce and education and proposed the term "Jewish infiltration" as a kind of short-hand, while Sima, *Histoire*, pp 58-61, referred to "le peril juif" that "devaient leur existence au desordre qui regnait dans la vie publique "

⁹⁰Nicholas M Nagy-Talavera, *The Green Shirts and Others A History of Fascism in Hungary and Romania* (Stanford, 1970), p 362

⁹¹A more recent document authored by Sima bears out this charge Horia Sima, *Declarations of the Legionary Movement Concerning the Fate of the Free World and the Tragedy of the Rumanian People* (n p , 1968) Nowhere is the Orthodox Church mentioned in this anti-communist tract replete with a host of right-wing political opinions about the "negro-revolution," Taiwan, and Vietnam There is even a specific appeal in behalf of the official restoration of the "Roman Catholic Church of the Byzantine Rite," the Uniate archival of the Romanian Orthodox Church Sima also issues a final appeal to "all nationalistic, Christian, and spiritual forces of every nation in the world" (p 8) Note the order of priority!

Citizenship is the highest cultural ethical value and is presumed to provide an adequate common identity for the people who claim it. The role of the Church, therefore, consists in supporting the civil authorities and civic culture for the sake of a broader worldly vision than mere ethnic nationalism can tolerate. The starting point for this trajectory is Saint Paul's own proud Roman citizenship as related especially in Acts 21.39 and 22.25-29.⁹² This civic status not only enables him to escape harm on several occasions; it also affords Saint Paul a three-fold personal identity in society: Christian by faith, Jewish by ethnic heritage, and Roman by citizenship. Likewise Orthodox Christians in the Byzantine Empire could claim a three-fold identity, at least theoretically. As the empire in its last centuries gradually shrank to the immediate regions around Constantinople and Thessalonike, a Hellenizing nationalism began to supplant the supra-national idea of imperial citizenship.

The public trajectory in the contemporary Orthodox churches may be evident in Fr. Harakas' determined defense of political separation and civic culture in the U.S.,⁹³ but it is unmistakable in the ethical position of several Orthodox hierarchs in Soviet-bloc countries. In his *Declaration* to the Soviet authorities in 1927, Metropolitan Sergios explicitly recognized the Soviet Union as "our civil fatherland whose joys and successes are our joys and successes" and claimed that the Russian Orthodox could be "faithful citizens of the Soviet Union, loyal to the Soviet government."⁹⁴ The Romanian Orthodox Church, according to Bishop Antonie Plama-deala is "always open to man and centered upon the history of the people it serves" because of "its natural and permanent relation with the people, with the nation which it had accompanied in a permanent ideological, social, and economic movement throughout history."⁹⁵ That his concerns are primarily public rather than ethnic is evidenced by his concluding remarks that the humanitarian orientation of "our socialist state" has encouraged the Romanian Orthodox Church since the inception of the new regime to contribute to and support "the building of a new life in our country and the enhancing of the spiritual and material welfare of the

⁹²Cf. Phil 3.20, where he declares that the citizenship of a Christian is in heaven. One must always be wary of St. Luke's Romanizing trend in Acts. It is possible that the Paul in Acts is more Lukan than Pauline.

⁹³See above 74.

⁹⁴See above 88. In his pre-exile years in the Soviet Union, Alexander Solzhenitsyn, too, appeared to accept a public-type ethical standard for the involvement of Orthodox believers in Soviet society. For him the U.S.S.R. was no exception to the rule that a "nation is mystically welded together in a community of guilt." Alexander Solzhenitsyn, "Repentance and Self-Limitation in the Life of Nations," in idem, et al, *From Under the Rubble*, trans. Michael Scammell, et al (New York, 1975), p. 142.

⁹⁵Bishop Antonie, "Church," pp. 103, 94.

whole people’’⁹⁶ The more elaborate quotation above of Patriarch Justinian’s views on the positive meaning of citizenship in communist Romania shows the breadth of the public-type trajectory of cultural ethics in that Church⁹⁷

People-type One Orthodox theologian who has called for a revitalization of the biblical image of covenant in Orthodoxy is Metropolitan Khodr, and, although he has the divine-human covenant in mind, his advice ought to be heeded in terms of an Orthodox cultural ethic⁹⁸ For the ethically normative trajectory since biblical times, albeit not usually the “mainstream” in the actual history of the Church, has been that which exalts the Church as the “people of God” united in the new *covenant* of Jesus Christ The New Testament speaks often and eloquently of this unique vision of humanity In the Matthean tradition (Mt 28 19) the risen Jesus himself commissions His disciples to take the gospel to all nations on earth The birth of the Church on Pentecost Sunday represents in Saint Luke’s account (Acts 2 4-41) a virtual reversal of the adverse consequences for human unity in the Tower of Babel myth (Genesis 11) Language and thus national or ethnic diversity are no obstacles for the Spirit of God or the Church in which henceforth He dwells Saint Peter uses Hebraic metaphors to assure the Gentiles that they, too, are “a chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, God’s own people”, once they were “no people” but now they are “God’s people” (1 Pet 2 9f) The “people of God,” therefore, know no ethnic bounds To underscore this universality Saint Paul proclaims to the Galatians in a magnificent, often-cited passage that through their baptism they, too, are “sons of God, through faith” in Christ “There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is neither male nor female, for you are all one in Christ Jesus” (Gal 3 26-28)

Among contemporary Orthodox theologians two in particular, one Greek and one Bulgarian, have stressed the supra-national character of the Church as the people of God, which cannot be subordinated to any ideas of nation or public Ioannes Karmiris points to the historic Orthodox principle of ecclesiastical organization the local Church, whatever its familiar name, is based on geography and not nationality per se, so there ought not to be nations within a nation, as it were, or any elect, chosen, or “superior” nations among the many that claim Orthodoxy for their faith In any event, the relation of Church to nation and state is “akin to that of the soul toward the body”—a familiar Byzantine simile For Karmiris this means that the Church “pursues as its policy one that guides all people, nations, states toward God, and unites, transfigures, and

⁹⁶Ibid p 106

⁹⁷See above, p 243

⁹⁸Khodr “Church ” p 39

transforms them all into one 'people of God.' ”⁹⁹ Stefan Zankov commented in much the same manner during the 1930s when the Bulgarian Church dwelled within an Orthodox kingdom. Using a teleological approach, he suggested that the highest end of a nation is to seek God, which pilgrimage results in an “inner transformation” from a “kingdom of the natural and historical into the kingdom of the supernatural” as “one catholic whole” in union with others. Since the Church “is in itself non-material, transcendent, of divine origin, a divine-human being,” it ought to lead to God the nation in which it finds itself and “to make all peoples sons of God.” Adaptation of the Tradition to each national situation is to be acknowledged and cultivated, but not any attempt to transform the “essence of Christianity,” or the organic core of the Tradition. Thus, Zankov preserved the antinomical structure of the people-type trajectory.¹⁰⁰

This antinomical trajectory actually requires that the Church walk an ethical tightrope between identifying too easily with ethnic groups and ignoring them entirely in favor of a looser bond with the civil society in the modern state. A balance can be achieved, however, by focusing on both nations and citizenries as potential people of God. For any such social group consists in persons who, in a real sense, are the only moral agents capable of making ethical decisions, and it is persons, whether as individuals or as collectives, who are the object of the divine economy. Indeed, the people-type trajectory entails the cultural ethical direction most harmonious with the fundamental Orthodox theological ethic. The theotic transfiguration of persons into the people of God, which transcends all social categories; the ascetic sublimation of one's ethnic heritage to a more encompassing, other-directed identity; the philanthropic love that motivates one to foster synergistically the incorporation of all peoples into Christ; the liturgical piety of the people of God that insists on no social prerequisite to the holy mysteries that unite all organically with God, other than the status of sinner; the true universal *sobornost* implied in the people-type trajectory that allows for no national or social captivity of the Church: all of these theological aspects reveal the true richness and normative value of the people-type trajectory of cultural ethics in Orthodox Tradition.

⁹⁹Karmiris, “*Nationalism*,” pp. 175-77. This policy, however, does not prevent the Church from taking into account the “political peculiarities and other ethnic differences of the various peoples” (p. 180). Particularly in times of critical national danger, the Church “has energetically participated in the national struggle for defence, salvation, and liberation of her peoples, thus contributing effectively to the restoration of the nation” (p. 181). Karmiris does not address the problem of what the respective churches ought to do when two Orthodox nations or states are in conflict.

¹⁰⁰Zankov, “*Nation*,” pp. 159, 166. Surprisingly, he explicitly disowns the term antinomy in this context!

CONCLUDING SUMMARY

For the sake of convenience, the three typologies for an Orthodox social ethic are summarized schematically in the following chart:

	TYPES		
SOCIOLOGICAL:	Sect	Church	Worldly
POLITICAL:	Separation	Symphonia	Cosmocracy
CULTURAL:	Ethnos	People	Public

This chart dramatically shows the intricate relations within all three typologies as one complex matrix. The types in each vertical column are closely related in spirit as ethical approaches to the various concentric dimensions of social life. Although the middle column contains the "mainstream" for a social ethic insofar as it attempts an antinomical resolution of the antipodal types, by no means has it been uniformly dominant in the history of the Orthodox Church. In fact, it would be difficult to specify a unified social ethic in that history that ever conformed perfectly to this set of middle trajectories. There is no time like the present, however, to begin to effect such a social ethic.

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portraits of the Apostles Peter and Paul and icons of the Apostle Paul, Saint Luke the Evangelist, Bishop Abraham, Saint Gregory Palamas, Bishop Nicholas the Miracle-Worker of Myra, Saint Basil the Great and the Great Martyr Saint George, Saint Sergios of Radonezh, Saint Symeon Stylites, Saint Makarios of Unsha and the Yellow Waters, Saint Demetrios of Thessalonike, the Great Martyrs Saint Paraskeve Piatznitza and Saint George and the Dragon, the Holy Prophet Elijah in the Desert, form another core or iconographic subject matter. Collective icons and the principal festivals are analyzed. Beautifully illustrated are the Birth of the Holy Virgin, the Raising of the Cross, the Protection of the Mother of God, the Presentation of the Holy Virgin in the Temple, the Nativity of Christ, the Baptism of the Lord or Epiphany, the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, the Annunciation, the Raising of Lazarus, the Entry into Jerusalem, the Cross, the Resurrection, the Descent into Hell, the Spice-Bearing Women in the Sepulchre, Mid-Pentecost, the Ascension of Our Lord, Pentecost, the Holy Trinity, the Descent of the Holy Spirit, the Transfiguration, and the Dormition of the Mother of God. There are indices of the places and the illustrations, and a brief bibliography.

Certainly *The Meaning of Icons* is a rich source for understanding the Orthodox Christian icon. Ouspensky emphasizes that "Christianity is the revelation not only of the Word of God but also of the Image of God, in which His Likeness is revealed. This godlike image is the distinctive feature of the New Testament, being the visible witness of the deification of man" (p. 48). In a similar way, *theosis* or deification of man is a distinctive feature of the Orthodox icon.

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Art and Ritual of the Byzantine Church. By Christopher Walter. Preface by Robin Cormack. London: Variorum Publications Ltd., 1982. Pp. 249 + 66 illustrations. Hardcover £28.00.

Cyril Mango has stated that "as distinct from its appreciation, which is now widespread, a proper understanding of Byzantine art in its development and its connection with historical and social factors has not yet been fully achieved." Christopher Walter claims, and justifiably so, that this study "is an attempt to remedy this deficiency" (p. 239). The book goes even further. Its underlying purpose is to discover and reconstruct the "sign language" which Byzantine artists used "to express the salient elements of the conception of the sacred" (p. 1).

The author takes a critical stand towards the Byzantinists and fine artists who, according to him, have missed the point of the sacred and have allowed themselves to be absorbed by the style, rather than by the function and conceptualization of the Byzantine art. In order, perhaps, to dramatize the point, that the preoccupation of the Byzantine iconographer is with the sacred and spiritual meaning, the author has deliberately chosen two themes on which to concentrate his analysis and study: the office of the bishop and his vestments, as well as the ecclesiastical ceremonies and the liturgy in the Byzantine iconography. One would expect little, if any, manifest disposition of sacredness in the various depictions of these themes. And yet the author, an acknowledged interpreter of Byzantine art, in an undoubtedly technical study, has come up with most interesting and provocative observations. The outcome is a book richly informative of the development of the liturgy, the church administration, the architecture and the iconography, as well as of the entire Byzantine ethos. The author uses what he calls a "semiological analysis"; an analysis, that is, of the symbols and signs which Byzantine artists seem to employ consciously and consistently. The process of this analysis is an unlocking of "a closed network of signs," which yields a significant amount of historical, cultural and theological information. Chapter One is a semiological analysis of the episcopal costume and of the purposeful depiction of each piece of it (omophorion, phelonion, polystavrion, epitrachilion, epimanikia, encherion, epigonation, rhabdos, head-dress and mantle). Chapter Two explores the office of the bishop and the Byzantine ceremony, as these are depicted in illuminated manuscripts (such as chronicles, lives of saints, liturgical calendars, homilies, etc.), which are more conservative specimens than the icons. Chapter Three deals with the theme of biographical scenes of saintly bishops and the symbolism used to depict their wisdom. Chapter Four deals with Church rites (coronation, marriage, baptism, church appointments, funerary rites, the cult of relics, consecration of an altar) as they are depicted in, or symbolized by, the Byzantine iconography. Chapter Five deals with the official imagery of the Byzantine Church. In it, the author examines three themes: the echelon of saintly bishops, the entry of liturgical themes into apse programs, and Eucharistic scenes from the late eleventh century.

It is singly fortunate that, in such a technical and detailed book as this, written for Byzantine art historians, the author had the foresight to append a paragraph of conclusion after each chapter, and Chapter Six as a conclusion to the entire book. In these units the expert can find in summary the state of Walter's research, and the general reader can put the preceding historical, theological, cultural and artistic information in perspective. The book indirectly makes the point that one misses a lot—if not the whole—of the historical and spiritual content of Byzantium and its sacred art, if one does not study the Byzantine Church and its theology

in words (literature), in color (iconography), in stones (architecture) and in action (worship and ritual), contextually. The application of the study of iconography in identifying the date of churches, as is the case of the rock churches of Cappadocia (See Appendix 1, pp. 225-32), is a clear example. Another Appendix (2, pp. 232-38) shows the development of the rite of the *prothesis* and its eventual incorporation into the Eucharistic liturgy, alongside the architectural development of the *diaconicon*, with corresponding decorative programs!

I am not sure that, as a nonspecialist, I have grasped all the technical points; but I feel that one historical and theological points needs amendment: The debate between Iconophiles and Iconoclasts on the theological justification of the icon of Christ is, certainly, central in the iconoclastic controversy; and the author has summarized it accurately. It seems to me, however, that global criticism of the Second Nicene Council (787) that "It would have been more harmonious and, theologically, sounder to have situated the cult of icons in relation to the Eucharistic liturgy as expressions of Christian worship. However, church councils rarely do their work properly" (p. 188) is unjustifiable. This criticism follows the author's previous statement that, "the Iconophiles were reluctant to represent publicly the Last Supper and the Communion of the Apostles" (p. 187). This author bases this statement on the scarcity of icons of these themes, prior to iconoclasm. But scarcity of such icons does not prove the point. Actually, in their literature the Iconophiles were outspoken in refuting the iconoclastic assertion that the bread and wine of the Eucharist are an "image" (actually the only possible image) of Christ. The Iconophiles took pains to refute this and distinguish the Eucharistic elements from the image (or, rather icon) of Christ, as well as the icon of Christ from Christ himself (on these two issues, see especially the Conciliar minutes in Mansi, 13: 261E-268A, and 252A-261D). If the Iconophiles were so eager to defend the icon of Christ and iconograph Christ himself, why would they be intentionally reluctant to represent the Last Supper, let alone the Communion of the Apostles?

The perennial question of a sceptic asked often of the art historians lingers usually in the mind of the reader of a book of this kind: How normative can the conclusions from the interpretation of icons be, given the many variations and styles which one encounters, even on one and the same theme? This question, however, will rarely be prompted by the reading of this book, which demonstrates a firm grasp of the historical, theological, liturgical, and hagiographical sources. The author uses these sources to direct his technical observation, and to weigh his conclusions. This makes it a solid piece of work on Byzantine art.

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Athanasiana: Essays in the Theology of Saint Athanasius. By George D. Dragas. London, 1980. Pp. 188. Paper.

The great church historian, Hans Lietzmann, once remarked of Saint Athanasios that, "both as an unbendable politician and as a strong religious personality, he was the most eminent man of the post-Constantine period. The mark of his work was indelibly impressed upon the political and theological development of the next era." Among the many new contributions to Athanasian scholarship by such individuals as Nordberg, Kannengiesser and Barnard, a valuable new addition has been made by the Very Reverend George D. Dragas, Lecturer in Patristics at the University of Durham, England, in the recently published volume, *Athanasiana, Vol. I*. We are presented in this book with seven essays which were delivered as lectures at various conferences or published in scholarly journals by Dragas, between 1975 and 1980. The scope of the essays provided is far-ranging and diverse, covering topics as different as Athanasian Christology and the influence of the writings of the "defender of orthodoxy" on John Henry Cardinal Newman. As Dragas himself says, however, the essays "are linked together by a common concern, the investigation of the sources. Original investigation of the original data leads to clarification and discovery." This is what Dragas claims for this collection of essays and, to a great extent, the reader finds this claim substantiated.

The first essay in the collection, delivered at the Sixth International Conference on Patristic Studies in Oxford (1975), is entitled, "He Became Man: A Neglected Aspect of the Christology of Athanasios the Great." It examines the so-called "*logos-sarx*" framework of Athanasios' Christology, popularized by recent writers of the history of dogma, as Aloys Grillmeier, in his major work, *Christ in Christian Tradition, Vol. I* (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1975). Dragas, through a thorough and exhaustive computer analysis of the dogmatic works of Athanasios, presents a convincing argument that "*sarx*" (flesh) in Athanasian terminology is holistic in its meaning and encompasses "the whole human reality." Such an assertion calls into question those church historians and dogmaticians who see a "change in opinion" concerning the soul of Christ in Athanasian thought after the year A.D. 362. The assertion of Dragas in this essay, indeed calls for a re-examination of the earlier works of Saint Athanasios with a new and fresh perspective.

The second essay in the series, "The Eternal Son," builds upon the foundation of Dragas' textual analysis presented in the first chapter, and brings his investigation to bear upon the doctrine of the Divine Sonship of Christ. In Athanasian terms, Dragas perceives this "Sonship" to be both eternal

and temporal. As Dragas states, "the latter is adoptionist, but in a unique sense, because it rests on the Eternal Son's condescension to become Son in time as man. The New Testament paradox is maintained." This essay is among the most important contributions of the entire volume. For every statement of proof which Dragas makes within the body of the essay, ample Athanasian references are provided and the reader is directed again and again to a re-examination of the original sources. The arguments presented are both cogent and cohesive. In the end, as with Saint Athanasios himself, the arguments presented are not mere theological speculations but soteriological in their content, leading the reader on to consider the redemptive work of Christ.

The third essay concerns the work of the Holy Spirit and tradition in the writings of Saint Athanasios. This essay provides not only a useful introduction to the Athanasian view of the work of the Holy Spirit and tradition within the church, but undertakes a summary of the Orthodox understanding of this reality. Dragas has essentially taken the work of his mentor, the late Professor Georges Florovsky, on tradition, and has expanded it using the works of Saint Athanasios. The great themes of grace and participation are placed in a christological and ecclesiological framework by the author and are then related to the ongoing work of the Holy Spirit. As Dragas states, "Christ is not for him (Athanasios) an abstract theoretical term; it means God's presence with and in man through the active presence of the Holy Spirit. This is the pure notion of tradition . . . , God's presence in His Church mediated through the personal economy of Christ."

The fourth essay, "Nature and Grace According to Saint Athanasios," is the result of a communication presented to the Seventh International Conference of Patristic Studies at Oxford (1979). The essay examines the key terms "*physis*" and "*charis*" in Athanasios' early dogmatic writings: *Contra Gentes*, *De Incarnatione*, and the later *Orationes Contra Arianos*. Each of these writings is examined to discover the use, frequency, and semantics of these vital theological terms. Dragas provides for the reader data concerning use and frequency obtained by computer analysis. The terms are then assessed in their context, by which method Dragas arrives at his conclusions concerning semantics and meaning. An especially helpful aspect of this section is the provision in the footnotes of the complete Greek texts which are being investigated in the essay. This allows the reader to see for himself the linguistic and theological setting in which the terms are used, and to derive his own conclusions.

As Dragas himself implies, an investigation of Athanasios' Christology inevitably leads to Soteriology. In the fifth essay of the volume, "A Note Concerning Athanasios' Soteriology," Dragas finds that the Person of

Christ is central to the Athanasian perspective concerning salvation. The "saving Humanity of Christ" has a universal implication in which all humanity participates. Dragas lays waste the modern obsession with the varied Platonic and Aristotelian speculative interpretations of "the Body" in Athanasios' Christology, and concentrates upon the reality of the God-man, the Word, who in his very being has shown forth the "Mystery of Salvation." Dragas places the Athanasian Christ as the "ultimate and unfailing focus of the entire universe," in whom the Church, by grace, participates. In certain ways, this essay provides a devotional, as much as a scholarly or theological view of Christ *Pantocrator*.

The remaining two essays seem somewhat out of step with the preceding five. It is not that they lack importance in and of themselves, but they do not seem to carry the same train of thought as the preceding contributions. They are two studies—one textual; one historical. Both, however, are important contributions to Athanasian scholarship. The first takes a new look at the two letters, known as *Contra Apollonarum*, which, since the last century, have been considered of dubious Athanasian origin. Dragas takes issue with the critics and provides a convincing argument for these two letters to be included in the Athanasian corpus. (A two-volume work by Dragas on this subject will be published within the coming year.) The final essay explores the influence of Athanasian and Eastern theological thought upon the life of John Henry Cardinal Newman. Among the more controversial ideas arising out of this paper is the assertion that, had the historical situation been different in England in the 19th century, Newman's conversion might well have turned him to the Orthodox Church of the East, rather than to Rome. From the evidence provided by Dragas, one could easily imagine such an occurrence. Dragas' presentation is a tribute as much to Newman as it is to Athanasios, and provides a positive contribution to the study of both churchmen.

Throughout this volume of collected essays, Dragas has woven a thread of Athanasian thought and scholarship. Without doubt, the reader will find certain essays of more importance than others. Overall, however, one does find an original, scholarly, and evenhanded treatment of the material presented in each. The references and footnotes included in each section are themselves worth the price of the book. This is a recommended book for all engaged in Patristic studies, but especially for those who love the great saint of Alexandria, the Defender of Orthodoxy, and the "pre-eminent Churchman of the Fourth Century"—Saint Athanasios.

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Bonhoeffer: An Orthodox Ecclesiology?

ANDREW J. SOPKO

SO MANY ARTICLES AND BOOKS have appeared on the life and thought of the German theologian Dietrich Bonhoeffer (1906-45) that the need for others almost seems unwarranted. Yet if these works are examined, they clearly show an evolving clarification in the understanding of Bonhoeffer's theology. Initially, the seemingly revolutionary implications of such Bonhoefferian phrases as "religionless Christianity" and "world come of age" were immediately claimed by the less traditional elements within Christianity as their own. Further study has demonstrated, however, that this Lutheran theologian had taken great care to balance his 'worldly' concepts with those of a very concrete ecclesiology which was liturgically and sacramentally centered. While Bonhoeffer never really completed his ecclesiology, and questions remain as to its final shape in a world which lives "as if God does not exist," enough material surfaces in his writings to partially construct the structures of the Church which his theology envisioned. In examining these structures, a conception of the Church emerges which in many ways parallels that of Orthodox ecclesiology.

It is interesting to note that Bonhoeffer's first true feelings for *ekklesia* came not from Protestantism, but from Roman Catholicism. Through his early visits to Rome he witnessed the vibrant life of the Church there, an experience which affected his theology thereafter.¹ It should also be noted that about this time he also had his first introduction to the Orthodox Church through the lectures of Karl Holl at Berlin University.² This is mentioned not to overestimate its impact on Bonhoeffer, but merely to demonstrate the catholicity which he tasted from an early age. The reality of Bonhoeffer's concern for a precise ecclesiology was manifested in his doctoral thesis, *Sanctorum Communio*; and this concern remained with him throughout his life although he later confessed

¹E. Bethge, *Dietrich Bonhoeffer* (New York, 1970) pp. 38-42.

²Ibid. p. 46.

that he considered ethics his true calling.³ Throughout *Sanctorum Communio* the young theologian stressed "Christ existing as community."⁴ This communal emphasis is already apparent from the subtitle of the study—"Dogmatic Inquiry into the Sociology of the Church." Bonhoeffer was concerned with underlining the social role of the Church in revelation; for he felt that this had been sacrificed in not only the pietism of his own Lutheran tradition, but also in Barthian 'neo-orthodoxy.' He no doubt realized that the Church Fathers themselves had never developed an isolated ecclesiology in their theology, but the developments in traditional and modern Protestantism now seemed to justify such an ecclesiology in his mind.⁵

Bonhoeffer's emphasis should not be misconstrued to mean that his view discarded a personalistic ecclesiology in favor of a purely 'socialistic' one.⁶ Not only the faith, but also the responsibility of the individual Christian towards others, becomes a primary mark of the Church in his ecclesiology.⁷ Nonetheless, it is the person in the social context rather than the isolated individual that manifests the Church—*solus christianus nullus christianus*. Furthermore, the identification of the Church as the body of Christ means that Christ can never be thought of as being in isolation, but only in His relationship to each individual Christian in community.⁸ Through his Christology and his doctrine of the Church, Bonhoeffer hoped to make God's presence in the contemporary world a concrete reality. Not merely satisfied with the term 'church,' he often spoke of the 'empirical church' for "the Logos of God has extension in space and time in and as the community."⁹ Christ existing as community causes the 'pure doctrine' of incarnation, crucifixion and resurrection to be experienced and believed today.¹⁰ Bonhoeffer summed up his Christopersonal view of the Church in the following words:

The Body of Christ is identical with the new humanity which he [Christ] has taken upon him. It is in fact the Church. Jesus Christ

³D. Bonhoeffer, *The Communion of Saints* (New York, 1963); Bethge, *Dietrich Bonhoeffer*, p. 621. For a brief analysis of the substance of Bonhoeffer's ecclesiology, see "The Dialectical Reality of the Church" in J.W. Woelfel, *Bonhoeffer's Theology: Classical and Revolutionary* (Nashville, Tenn., 1970).

⁴*The Communion of Saints*, pp. 85, 138, 146.

⁵For the patristic attitude toward 'ecclesiology,' see "The Catholicity of the Church" in J. Meyendorff, *Living Tradition* (Crestwood, N.Y., 1978) pp. 81.

⁶For a view of personalistic ecclesiology in the Orthodox tradition, see "Orthodox Theology Today" in Meyendorff, *Living Tradition*, pp. 179-81.

⁷*The Communion of Saints*, pp. 36-37.

⁸D. Bonhoeffer, *Christ the Center* (New York, 1966) pp. 47-48.

⁹*Ibid.* p. 60.

¹⁰See the observations of Bethge, *Dietrich Bonhoeffer*, pp. 98-99.

is at once himself and his Church. Since the first Whit Sunday [Pentecost] the life of Christ has been perpetuated on earth in the form of his Body, the Church. Here is his Body, crucified and risen, here is the humanity he took upon himself.¹¹

The Orthodox response to such a viewpoint immediately elicits two questions. Is the Church absolutely identical with Christ? And is the Church synonymous with Christ's kingdom? Bonhoeffer's theology can answer both questions affirmatively only with a qualification of paradox. True to Luther's doctrine of man as *simul justus et peccator*, he applies the same principle to the Church. Divine and human, holy and sinful, in the world and yet not of the world, these paradoxes demonstrate the tension which exists in the Church as it passes from its divine origin to its divine goal.¹² In reaffirming the Chalcedonian definition through his ecclesiology, Bonhoeffer simultaneously jettisoned the Reformation distinction between a visible and an invisible Church. For him, there is only the Church—sinners and sanctified, living and dead.¹³ The proximity to Orthodox ecclesiology is striking.

Problems do begin to arise when Bonhoeffer's conception of the Church's relation to the world is examined. Because it underwent changes from his early period to his time in prison, much argument and even misunderstanding have ensued. Already in *Sanctorum Communio* he had stressed the importance of the I-Thou relationship in the Church. This applied not only to the reaction between Christians, but also to the interaction of Christians with those 'in the world.'¹⁴ In *The Cost of Discipleship*, the Church appears insulated from the world:

God is holy in his separation from the sinful world and in the establishment of his sanctuary in the midst of the world.... The circle is closed, and in the Holy Spirit man has become God's possession. The community of the saints is barred off from the world by an unbreakable seal until its ultimate deliverance.¹⁵

In his *Ethics*, Bonhoeffer opens the doors of the Church. Just as he quashed the distinction between an invisible and a visible Church in *Sanctorum Communio*, he now minimalizes the distinction between the sacred and the profane in the world:¹⁶

¹¹D. Bonhoeffer, *The Cost of Discipleship* (New York, 1963) p. 216.

¹²See particularly the remarks of Woelfel in *Bonhoeffer's Theology*.

¹³*The Communion of Saints*, p. 197. It must be stated that in this passage, Bonhoeffer also says, "We do not believe...in the Kingdom of God existing in the Church as *coetus electorum*"; but in this instance he probably means a group feeling assured of its own salvation.

¹⁴See note 7 above.

¹⁵*The Cost of Discipleship*, pp. 300, 313.

¹⁶See particularly D. Bonhoeffer, *Ethics* (New York, 1955) pp. 188-213.

Christ defines the limits of membership in himself more widely than his disciples wish him to do or themselves to do.... It is not that a 'Christian culture' must make the name of Jesus Christ become the refuge and justification, the protection and the claim for the higher values and their defendants who have fallen to suffering.¹⁷

Previously, "the world for Christ" had been stressed; now Bonhoeffer felt that "Christ for the world" had to be stressed.¹⁸ In *Letters and Papers from Prison*, this emphasis was carried to its ultimate conclusion:

In what way are we religionless—secular 'Christians,' in what way are we, the ἐκκλησία, those who are called forth, not regarding ourselves from a religious point of view as specially favored, but rather as belonging wholly to the world? In that case, Christ is no longer as object of religion but something quite different, really the Lord of the world.¹⁹

Bonhoeffer's emphasis had obviously changed from that of his earlier writings, but the terminology found in his prison writings should not be misinterpreted. 'Religionless Christianity' and 'world come of age' were both conceived as strongly theological concepts. The first does not mean the disavowal of the Christian cultus, nor does the second mean an atheistic *Weltanschauung*.²⁰ Neither would it be correct to assume that the Church becomes only a modern ethical institution in Bonhoeffer's theology, as has sometimes been suggested.²¹ An Orthodox approach to Bonhoeffer's world view emerges in *No Rusty Swords* and more fully in his essay, "Thy Kingdom Come." In the first, he speaks of the Church saying that it "is not a consecrated sanctuary but the world, called by God to God."²² In other words, the Church is what the world is destined to be. In the second, the sanctification of the world is even more fully proclaimed: "The Kingdom of God is not to be found in some other world beyond but in the midst of this world."²³ What is the justification for this view? The Resurrection of Christ, Bonhoeffer replies, because "it is in this occurrence that the old earth is affirmed and God is hailed as Lord of the earth."²⁴ Although Bonhoeffer's theology and particularly

¹⁷ *Ethics*, pp. 57, 59.

¹⁸ See Bethge, *Dietrich Bonhoeffer*, p. 760.

¹⁹ D. Bonhoeffer, *Letters and Papers from Prison* (New York, 1953, 1967) p. 153f.

²⁰ For an excellent explanation of these terms, see Bethge, *Dietrich Bonhoeffer*, pp. 760-73.

²¹ See particularly Woelfel, *Bonhoeffer's Theology*, pp 170-71.

²² *No Rusty Swords* (London, 1965) p. 154.

²³ D. Bonhoeffer, "Thy Kingdom Come" in J.D. Godsey, ed., *Preface to Bonhoeffer: The Man and Two of His Shorter Writings* (Philadelphia, 1965) p. 45.

²⁴ *Ibid.* p. 37.

his ecclesiology have been criticized for placing too much emphasis upon the cross, here the Resurrection receives its due.²⁵ Both the Church and the world are justified and sanctified in the Resurrection. It remains the Church's task to make the world aware of this fact through service to those in it and, when the time is right, in terms which can be comprehended.

The Church and the world are not identical, and no one is more aware of this fact than Bonhoeffer. For this reason, the liturgical and sacramental aspects of the Church remain of supreme importance in his ecclesiology. Because the Church is a 'scattered people,' at those times when it can gather, grace is present by the mere fact of its *leitourgia*. Although ecclesiastical structures possess a rather informal nature in Bonhoeffer's ecclesiology, this liturgical aspect is irreducible and irrefutable. For Bonhoeffer, the sacraments themselves are not only the most visible signs of invisible grace, but the "supremely visible signs of Christian community."²⁷ To insure the sanctity of Christian worship, Bonhoeffer even wrote of the necessity for a *disciplina arcana* in which "the mysteries of the Christian faith are protected against profanation."²⁸ He even attempted to revive the early Church practice of *disciplina arcana* when rector of the seminary at Finkenwalde by stressing the departure of unbaptized before the recitation of the Creed and the celebration of the Eucharist.²⁹ For those who had seriously profaned the Church from within, excommunication presents itself as an appropriate action. According to Bonhoeffer, such a step demonstrates that discipline is a necessary aspect of the Church.³⁰

"The sacraments begin and end in the Body of Christ, and it is only the Body which makes them what they are."³¹ For Bonhoeffer, our communion with Christ in the Church is even greater than that of the first disciples who lived with Him; for in baptism and the Eucharist we have the glorified Christ.³² Preaching might create the Church, but it is the sacraments "flowing" from the humanity of Jesus Christ which sustain it.³³ In a very interesting passage Bonhoeffer even presents an ec-

²⁵See particularly Bethge, *Dietrich Bonhoeffer*, p. 791.

²⁶D. Bonhoeffer, *Life Together* (New York, 1954) pp. 18, 30.

²⁷*Letters and Papers from Prison*, p. 88.

²⁸*Ibid.* p. 157. *Disciplina arcana* also mentioned on p. 154.

²⁹Bethge, *Dietrich Bonhoeffer*, p. 784.

³⁰*The Cost of Discipleship*, pp 328-29.

³¹*Ibid.* p. 267.

³²*Ibid.* p. 263.

³³*Ibid.* p. 280. Because of the concreteness of the sacraments, these had to stand at the center of Bonhoeffer's ecclesiastical realism. Even the sign of the cross was justified in Bonhoeffer's mind chiefly because of its objectivity. See *Letters and Papers*, p. 97.

clesiology which makes each congregation primarily a baptismal and eucharistic congregation, and a preaching congregation only secondarily.³⁴ Bonhoeffer's reasoning stresses the fact that baptism and the Eucharist belong exclusively to the Church, while the Word is for believers and unbelievers alike.³⁵ Fellowship results from the Word, but it finds its goal and completion in the Eucharist.³⁶ Bonhoeffer's ecclesiology finds its absolute expression in what he calls 'the joyful sacrament':

The fellowship of the Lord's Supper is the superlative fulfillment of Christian fellowship.... Here the community has reached its goal. Here joy in Christ and his community is complete. The life of Christians together under the Word has reached its perfection in the sacrament.³⁷

Bonhoeffer also went to great lengths in his writings to revive the sacramental understanding of penance in the Church. For him, confession is not only "a call to grace," but "a gift of grace."³⁸ Confession is a renewal of the joy of baptism and thus becomes the perfect preparation for the reception of the Eucharist.³⁹

Although the structures of the Church have a rather indefinite character in Bonhoeffer's ecclesiology, he does not remain mute concerning ecclesiastical ministries (διακονίαι). For Bonhoeffer, these ministries are appointed by Christ and the Spirit, not by the Church.⁴⁰ Even though the Church appoints its ministers, this occurs only through the guidance of the Holy Spirit. Apostolic succession is manifested by conformity to Scripture and not from the succession itself. Bonhoeffer thus rejected the belief that ministry exists for the congregation, as he also dismissed the idea that it exists through the congregation. He preferred that neither should be thought of as the subject or the object of the other. Instead, the Spirit was to be stressed as the subject of both.⁴² As to the episcopacy itself, Bonhoeffer warns that the desire for so-called 'episcopal figures' owes more to worldly than to spiritual need.⁴³ A bishop's authority lies not in brilliant attributes, but in an individual, sound in life and faith,

³⁴*The Cost of Discipleship*, p. 281.

³⁵*Ibid.*

³⁶*Ibid.* p. 285.

³⁷*Life Together*, p. 122.

³⁸*Ibid.* p. 112 and *The Cost of Discipleship*, p. 325.

³⁹*Life Together*, pp. 115, 120.

⁴⁰*The Cost of Discipleship*, p. 282.

⁴¹Bethge, *Dietrich Bonhoeffer*, p. 365. These remarks on apostolic succession come from Bonhoeffer's unpublished lectures which he gave at Finkenwalde in summer, 1935.

⁴²Bethge, *Dietrich Bonhoeffer*, p. 365.

⁴³*Life Together*, p. 108.

who discharges his duties properly.⁴⁴ Finally, it should not be forgotten how Bonhoeffer proposed that the clergy themselves engage in some type of secular calling in addition to their work in the Church.⁴⁵ This, of course, was envisioned to occur once the Church had renounced its privileges and property and could no longer provide a full income for its ministers.

Any discussion of Bonhoeffer's ecclesiology must also include his own attitudes towards the ecumenical movement and the relationship between church and state. These two problems are intertwined in Bonhoeffer's life not only because he was active in the ecumenical movement, but because he sought its endorsement for Germany's Confessing Church when the official Church had put itself under the Nazi regime's aegis. He did not think of the ecumenical movement as the manifestation of the *Una Sancta*, but recognized that its worldwide stature gave the movement a particular importance. The ecumenical movement's creation before that of the Confessing Church, as well as its existence outside of Germany, were the two important factors for Bonhoeffer. He envisioned the day when the ecumenical movement would become the *Una Sancta*, but not through the disappearance of all confessional differences. Instead, the movement itself would create an 'inward validity' through its continuing work.⁴⁷ Following all the difficulties in his attempt to have the Confessing Church recognized as the official church in Germany, Bonhoeffer had to conclude that the true administration of sacrament and the correct use of Scripture were in themselves enough to constitute the Church.⁴⁸

The Church does have a political character in Bonhoeffer's thought, but not in the sense of a temporal power: "The Word of God must go forth from the Church and proclaim that the earth is the Lord's and all that is in it."⁴⁹ True to the witness of the New Testament, the Church knows nothing of individual states, it knows only the world.⁵⁰ Since temporal government comes 'from above,' however, Jesus Christ is not only the Lord of the Church and the world, but also the Lord of all government.⁵¹ Even so, Bonhoeffer stresses that Christ's Lordship does not imply that the Church also rules over government.⁵² Government assures

⁴⁴Ibid. p. 109.

⁴⁵See especially Woelfel, *Bonhoeffer's Theology*, p. 183.

⁴⁶Bethge, *Dietrich Bonhoeffer*, p. 401.

⁴⁷Ibid. p. 402.

⁴⁸Ibid. p. 436.

⁴⁹*The Cost of Discipleship*, p. 314.

⁵⁰*Ethics*, p. 332.

⁵¹Ibid. pp. 335-38.

⁵²Ibid. p. 346.

the Church its freedom and peace; and the Church, in turn, fulfills its political responsibility not only in the proclamation of the Gospel, but in its calling of sin "by its name" wherever it exists.⁵³ Bonhoeffer concludes that the question is not one of autonomy for the secular government, nor of the merits of theocracies, democracies and oligarchies—the Law of God revealed in Jesus Christ is the Law of all earthly institutions.⁵⁴

Bonhoeffer has obviously not sacrificed the Church to the world. While it must be admitted that his ecclesiology dissipates once the bounds of the local Church are left behind, he has built up an impressive liturgical and sacramental emphasis at that level. His views on the sacraments and the ministry parallel those of Orthodox ecclesiology, particularly with respect to the centrality of the Eucharist. His close identification between Christ and the Church and his emphasis on the Church as the active agent in creating Christ's kingdom here and now are also of the utmost importance in Orthodox ecclesiology. When Bonhoeffer spoke of the Church as a person, he was perhaps over-emphasizing the concept of Christopersonalism to the detriment of the work of the Spirit in the Church; but a closer reading of his works helps balance this impression. The criticism that Bonhoeffer's view of the Church and its relation to the world is too dependent upon a *theologia crucis* is justified. Too often he identifies Word and sacrament with only the Christ for us on the cross. Too often he urges us towards the world through only the identification of Christ's sufferings with those who suffer on earth. There can be no doubt, despite this, that Bonhoeffer believed in the transformation of creation through Christ's Resurrection. Perhaps because He lived and died in a war-torn world which understood only suffering, he left it to the Church's *disciplina arcana* to preserve that reality for the future.

⁵³Ibid. p. 350.

⁵⁴See *The Cost of Discipleship*, pp. 268-69 and Bethge, *Dietrich Bonhoeffer*, p. 791.

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Church and Justification

An Orthodox Approach to the Issue of Justification and Collective Faith

CONSTANTINE SCOUTERIS

ONE OF THE TRAGIC realities of modern man is the suffering which he often undergoes unjustly and that which he himself often unjustly inflicts upon others. Against this unhappy situation the Church comes to pit her very own being, her very own life: "For the life was manifested, and we have seen it, and bear witness, and shew unto you that eternal life, which was with the Father, and was manifested unto us" (1 Jn 1.2). Indeed, the entire gospel, the good news of the Church about this new life could be summarized in the words of Saint John: "And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us" (1.14). Herein lies the truth about God and man. Here the fulfillment of revelation can be found, since revelation does not refer only to God but also to man. For an optimistic understanding of man, it is particularly important to realize that in the incarnation of the Logos not only are things concerning God revealed, but the meaning of man's existence to its full extent as well. The dimension and the full potential of the human person were made evident in the theandric hypostasis of Christ, since, as Saint Athanasios says, "He became man so that we could be deified."¹

In order to approach the entire issue of the justification of man and to examine more specifically the relation between Church and justification, it is necessary to start from the christological basis. Moreover, it is well known that Orthodox theology cannot but use this starting point when referring to man. Within the patristic understanding no autonomous system of thought can be found regarding man, no anthropology in the narrow sense. The whole teaching of the Greek Fathers concerning man is, without a doubt, theology; or if you prefer, theological anthropology. The standard for understanding and judging man is not man himself, but the God-Man.

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¹ *Λόγος περί τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως τοῦ Λόγου* ed. R. W. Thomson, p. 268; PG 25.192.

Thus, man's justification is to be seen in all its inscrutable fullness in the divine *kenosis*. Indeed, with the incarnation, not only are the results of man's fall rectified but also a new creation of man takes place. As Saint Gregory of Nyssa would say: "A new heaven is built, that is to say the steadfastness of the faith in Christ, and the earth is formed anew, and a different man is created."² Through the incarnation new perspectives, hitherto unknown, are opened to man; we are, indeed, faced with a recreation of man. Paul, when referring to the first and second Adam, attempts in a simple and figurative way to sketch the infinite potentialities of the New Testament man: "The first man is of the earth, earthy: the second man is the Lord from heaven. As is the earthy, such are they also that are earthy: and as is the heavenly, such are they also that are heavenly" (1 Cor 15.47-48).

Through the incarnation, human nature does not simply receive divine gifts; it is not sealed only with the rich inpouring of divine grace, but is united hypostatically with God the Logos, and remains thereafter, in unity with him, "without confusion, without change, without division, without separation," always present in his divine hypostasis. In the incarnation human nature is united with the divine nature in a unique way, so as to surpass any other union and relationship, whereas at the same time "the difference of the natures is in no way destroyed on account of the union, but rather the peculiar property of each nature is preserved and concurring in one person and one hypostasis."³

The unity of the divine and human nature in the person or the hypostasis of God the Logos—this assumption of the entire human nature—constitutes the secret of man's redemption. Saint John of Damascus, summarizing the patristic teaching up to his time, declares explicitly: "He in his fullness took upon himself me in my fullness and was united whole to whole that he might in his grace bestow salvation on the whole man. For what has not been taken cannot be healed."⁴ The incarnation of the Logos as the vivification and resurrection of the whole humanity can be seen in the unbroken unity constituted by human nature as underlined by many Greek Fathers, and more especially by Saint Gregory of Nyssa. Humanity forms a real and concrete unity, τὸ τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος πλήρωμα. With great satisfaction Saint Gregory of Nyssa sees in the lost sheep of the evangelical parable the symbol of this single humanity reunited by the Good Shepherd to the "ninty-nine," the innumerable multitudes of angels.⁵ This unity of the human race

² *Εξήγησις ἀκριβῆς εἰς τὸ ἄσμα τῶν ᾠσμάτων* 13., ed. H. Langerbeck, (Leiden, 1960) pp. 384-85; PG 44.1049.

³ Definition of the Fourth Ecumenical Synod.

⁴ *Ἐκθεσις Πίστεως*. 50. 35-37, ed. P.B. Kotter, pp. 151-52; PG 45.1153.

⁵ *Ἀντιρρητικός πρὸς τὰ Ἀπολινάριου* ed., F. Mueller (Leiden, 1958) pp. 151-52; PG

forms the ontological basis for our incorporation into Christ and our redemption in him.⁶ When Saint Gregory states that the "body of Christ is the whole human nature to which he was united,"⁷ he presupposes the unity of the human 'lump' and wants to stress the universal character of salvation in Christ. The point is that when Christ, through the mercy and goodness of his Father, appeared to us in a human body, that is when he had taken an individual and concrete human nature, he united to himself the whole human πλήρωμα, and by that union he redeemed, restored, perfected and transfigured it.

Starting with this universal dimension of the incarnation, we can easily understand where the basis of man's justification is to be placed. Justification is proper dignity in a way which is unique, perfect and complete. In this way "our life is hid with Christ in God" (Col 3.3). It is particularly important to note that this central theme runs through the whole history of christological doctrine; in other words, the incarnation of the Logos is itself redemption, restoration, life, and justice.

What has been said so far shows, I think, that the incarnation of the Logos, as the manifestation of God, signifies the revealing of life and, consequently, the revealing of the authentic existence of man. Incarnation is the *kenosis* of God, which leads to the vivification of man. This *kenosis*—vivification begins, according to the apostolic teaching, with the birth of Christ and is completed with his death on the cross. God the Logos "made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men: and being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross" (Phil 2.7-8). Thus, life is offered through death. Here lies the 'foolishness' and the 'scandal' of Christianity; the paradox of Christian faith: life through death, from voluntary death, to the glory of resurrection, to the new life.

Let us dwell here, for a moment, on this issue of Christ's death:⁸ First of all, it is necessary to stress that this paradoxical death is an act of supreme and complete obedience. To the disobedience of the first Adam which had death as its consequence, the second Adam juxtaposes his own total obedience: "He became obedient unto death." Whereas the disobe-

45. 1153.

⁶See also my article " 'Η ένότης της ανθρωπίνης φύσεως ως πραγματική προϋπόθεσις της σωτηρίας (Έκ της ανθρωπολογίας του αγίου Γρηγορίου Νύσσης), *Θεολογία* 40 (1969) 416-29, and A.H. Armstrong, "Platonic Elements in Saint Gregory of Nyssa's Doctrine of Man," *Dominican Studies* 1 (1948) 113-26.

⁷Είς τὸ δταν ὑποταγῇ αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα, τότε καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Υἱὸς ὑποταγήσεται τῷ ὑποτάξαντι αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα, PG 44. 1320 B.

⁸For a comprehensive discussion on Christ's death on the cross see G. Florovsky, " 'Ο σταυρικὸς θάνατος," *Ἀνατομία προβλημάτων τῆς πίστεως*, tr. M. Kalamaras (Thessalonike, 1977) p. 52 ff.

dience of the first Adam had death as its result, the obedience of the second Adam opens the way for our vivification. Through Adam's decision to obey the promptings of the devil, because of his inability to use properly the gift of freedom, enmity arose between God and man. In the language of the New Testament, the term enmity does not mean hostility on God's part towards man, but expresses precisely the opposite: the enmity which the fallen man feels towards God first, and then towards his fellowman. This enmity is the fatal fruit of the decision taken by man to place himself "at the east of the garden," that is, outside the dimension of the original communion of love between God and himself. In this sense, man exchanged his spiritual mind, which was the fruit of his real being, with the carnal mind, which is the result of his nonexistent earthly life. Saint Paul vividly describes the tragedy of man who finds himself in a state of enmity: "For to be carnally minded is death; but to be spiritually minded is life and peace. Because the carnal mind is enmity against God: for it is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can it be" (Rom 8.6-7).

Through his death, Christ creates a new kind of relationship between God and man. "By the cross, having slain the enmity thereby" (Eph 2.16), he accomplishes reconciliation: "being enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son" (Rom 6.10). Death on the cross is the highest act of love towards man: "But God commendeth his love towards us, in that, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us; much more then, being now justified by his blood, we shall be saved from wrath through him. For if, when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son, much more, being reconciled, we shall be saved by his life" (Rom 5.8-10). Therefore, justification in the face of God is not gained through the endeavor and the achievements of man, but it comes as a gift of the grace of God to fallen man: "For all have sinned, and come short of the glory of God; being justified by his grace through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus" (Rom 3.23-24).

On this point we must make a necessary clarification: there is a difference between saying that God the Logos assumed the whole of human nature and that he "hath given himself for us an offering and a sacrifice" (Eph 5.2). This "hath given himself" signifies that sin is removed by a voluntary offering. The state of sin is not dissolved with incarnation; in other words, redemption is not the automatic outcome of the union between divine and human nature; it is precisely the result of Christ's will. Christ is "the lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world" (Jn 1.29) not because the divine and human nature were hypostatically united in him, but because he freely chose the cross and death. This act of choice is a token of the love he had as man.

Moreover, it must be added that the passion and the cross have a wider meaning: the whole of Christ's life on earth was an unending pas-

sion, a suffering love for mankind. This we stress, in order to avoid the pitfall of fragmenting Christ's work, which inevitably leads to scholastic interpretations. The work of Christ has a fullness and the redemption which derives from it is not related only to some isolated events of his earthly life. The whole course of the Savior's life on earth forms a totality, an organic whole, from which it is not possible to separate and to isolate this part or the other. Of course, the final step to this unique course is death on the cross, as indeed Christ himself certified: "For this cause came I unto this hour" (Jn 12.27). But death on the cross is preceded by the suffering of a whole lifetime: the suffering for the enmity of man, for the isolation of the human person, for the "whole world" which "lieth in wickedness" (1 Jn 5.19).

Another point which must not escape our attention is that we cannot have a correct understanding of the mystery of Christ's death if we use moral or legalistic categories as our foundation. Christ's death was not the death of a righteous man, which could lead us to moral conclusions; nor was it a case of 'settling accounts,' or something necessary for the satisfaction of divine justice. Christ's death has another dimension because it was the death of that pure human nature which through its assumption into the hypostasis of God the Logos, had already been deified. We are dealing here with a unique death; with a death which is not the consequence of sin, and which precisely for this reason is the removal of sin.

Generally speaking, death is the separation of the soul from the body. And in the case of Christ's death the same holds true: his soul was separated from his body. But because the one hypostasis of the God-Man cannot be divided, even though his soul and body were so separated by death, they remain, nevertheless, united because of the divinity of the Logos from whom they cannot be estranged (hypostatic union). Christ's death is, therefore, death without corruption, and for this reason it constitutes the end of death. In other words, through this incorruptible death corruption itself and death are conquered. In essence, this death is the resurrection of human nature. And so, with this death the incarnate Logos "has blotted out the handwriting of ordinances that was against us, which was contrary to us, and took it out of the way, nailing it to his cross" (Col 2.14).

Orthodox theology remains at this dogmatic statement and consistently avoids moving on to analyses or scholastic interpretations. It is clear that in the patristic thought the whole theology of the cross is free from legalities and scholastic elaborations. It is sufficient for the Greek Fathers to repeat the words of the New Testament and to describe rather than determine or simplify with logical argumentations the great mystery of godliness. They have no tendency for speculation, but restrict themselves to a doxological understanding of Christ's death. What we

are faced with here is the mystery of God's love for mankind, through which all the consequences of the fall are nullified. These consequences would have been eternal if the incarnation of philanthropic economy had not transformed condemnation into justification by blotting out not man himself but the sin which did injustice to man.

But the death of Christ as the ultimate expression of his suffering love for mankind has no element of compulsion in it. Respect for man's freedom remains intact. In this way each man can find his justification by going through the mystery of death himself: "...so many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ were baptized into his death. Therefore we are buried with him by baptism into death: that as Christ was raised up from death by glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life. For if we have been planted together in the likeness of his death, we shall be also in the likeness of his resurrection: knowing this, that our old man is crucified with him, that the body of sin might be destroyed, that henceforth we should not serve sin. For he that is dead is freed from sin" (Rom 6.3-7). In the Greek original this "is freed from sin" of the authorized King James' version is given "δεδικαίωται ἀπὸ τῆς ἁμαρτίας," i.e., "is justified from sin." And so, through baptism, which is an imitation of Christ's death and resurrection, man is justified: "He that is dead is justified from sin." With baptism man realizes in himself what Christ achieved by his voluntary death: Life from death. Individuals can be born in the new life of resurrection only if they die and are buried together with Christ through baptism.

In the Orthodox tradition, entering the Church is understood as the justification of man, if we want to express it in a clearer and more absolute way, justification *is* the Church. Inside the Church man finds his ancient authenticity. He is freed from the bondage of corruption and death and regains his original beauty, the glorious liberty of the children of God. Sin, which has done injustice to man, disappears and a new era of glory of man begins. The Son of God gives himself up (παράδιδει ἑαυτόν) for the forgiveness of sins and for the life of the world. Through the incarnation of the Logos, which is an abundance of love and offering, the Church enters a new era of glory: "Christ loved the Church, and gave himself for it; that he might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word, that he might present to himself a glorious Church, not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing; but that it should be holy and without blemish" (Eph 5.25-27).

The entire reality of the Church is inseparably bound with the mystery of death on the cross: Christ "gave himself *for* the Church." Man must first die through baptism in order to enter the Church. And after that, his membership in the Church must be an ongoing process of participation in the divine passion and death. Life always passes through death. Consequently, the death of the God-Man on the cross is not simply an

historical event, an affair of the past; on the contrary, it covers every bit of the historical present of the life of the Church; it becomes the central point of the Church's life and unity. In this sense, the justification of the entire man, which materializes through Christ's death, has not only a moral, but primarily a sacramental significance. This objective fact is transferred into the personal life of every believer. Each one takes part in the Lord's Supper. In every eucharistic service and before receiving Communion, every Orthodox faithful prays: "At thy mystical supper, Son of God, today receive me as a communicant; for I will not speak of the mystery of thine enemies, nor give thee a kiss like Judas; but like the thief I confess thee: remember me, Lord, in thy Kingdom."

The sacramental significance of death on the cross is revealed at the Lord's Supper, when Christ said, while offering bread and wine to his disciples: "This is my body which is given for you" and "This cup is the New Testament in my blood, which is shed for you" (Lk 22.19-20). These words mean nothing else but the giving over of the mystery of death on the cross to the body of the faithful. It is the possibility which is given to the members of the Church for continuous participation in the death and resurrection of Christ, in this Easter of the New Testament. It is indicative that the handing over of the bread of life and of the cup of the New Testament takes place before the sacrifice on the cross, precisely so that the philanthropic character of the offering is stressed. As Gregory of Nyssa tells us: "Christ does not wait for the necessity arising from his betrayal, and the brigand's attack of the Judeans, and Pilate's illegal decision, so that their wickedness can become the principle and cause of man's common salvation; but he anticipates the attack through his economy, according to the ineffable secret manner of the divine dispensation which is invisible to men."⁹ Thus the Lord's Supper is not a prefiguration or a symbolic, prophetic performance of Christ's death, but a real sacrament which was officiated by Christ, the High Priest of the New Testament. Similarly, the Holy Eucharist is not simply a symbolic remembrance of the Lord's Supper, but also a real sacrament. It is the remembrance of "the cross, the grave, the resurrection the third day, the ascension into heaven, the enthronement at the right hand, and the second and glorious coming." However, apart from its 'anamnesic' character, the Holy Eucharist, according to the Orthodox understanding, is an offering "in all and for all . . . for the holy catholic and apostolic Church."¹⁰ It is the mystery of the presence, not fictitious or formal, but a real presence. In this way, through the Holy Eucharist Christ's death and resurrection become a constant presence in the life of the Church. The

⁹Εἰς τὸ ἅγιον Πάσχα καὶ περὶ τῆς τριμήρου προθεσμίας τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀναστάσεως λόγοι πέντε, PG 44.1320.

¹⁰*The Divine Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom.*

mystery of death through the cross exists in the 'here' and the 'now' of the Church.

In the Eucharist man's death is assumed and transformed into life. Life is grafted unto death. It is, hence, a mystery of transfiguration. This assumption of man's sin and death and its transformation into a life of communion with God is precisely the new condition which is incarnated in the Church. The eucharistic gathering is the restoration of the ancient communion between man and God. In it the true being of man is realized, since man really exists only when he is in communion with God. The eucharistic communion as a lifting of the division caused by the fall, and as a unification of life, is, in the final analysis, a creation of man after Christ's likeness, and for this reason his justification as well. Thus, man becomes, if we repeat Nicholas Kabasilas' way of putting it, a justice after Christ's likeness (δικαιοσύνη χριστοειδής).¹¹

We should at this point state that the unification of man's divided nature, which occurs in the Holy Eucharist, this justice after Christ's likeness, is not offered to man unconditionally. There is nothing magic or self-evident in the communion between God and man which takes place in the Eucharist. For the tree of justification to give fruit, there must exist the root of human justice. Kabasilas uses the biblical analogy of the wild olive tree: man is compared to a wild olive tree which left on its own is sterile and barren, that is, it is unable to bear fruits of justice. But when the good olive tree is grafted unto the wild olive tree it brings about a complete transformation: thus, the fruits which come from the root of the wild olive tree are the fruits of a good olive tree. But for these fruits to exist, the root is necessary; in other words, man's personal effort and ascesis are required. Of course, this ascesis does not of its own accord lead to justification; good deeds alone do not bring merit, and likewise, faith alone does not reinstate man. Faith and deeds, i.e. the results of man's ascesis are simply the preconditions. Faith and deeds form only the root of human justice, which united to Christ's justice becomes justice after Christ's likeness.¹²

Orthodox theology has never ceased to underline the grace of God and the synergy (collaboration) of man. Man first receives the talent of God's gift and then adds his own personal work. Man's justification is basically an offering and an action of Christ; man, however, has a considerable degree of responsibility for the realization of justification. The field of action is open to man; he is free to create his own personal history of sanctification.

And thus we come to the chapter of ascesis and its significance for man's life. The Eastern Orthodox tradition considers ascesis a fun-

¹¹ *Περὶ τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ ζωῆς*, PG 150.592

¹² *Ibid.*

damental reality. Its spirituality and its theology are ascetical. Nothing of its life remains outside the dimension of asceticism. The justification of man is the fruit of Christ's death and resurrection. In baptism the believer passes through death, in order to be resurrected, so that the new man, the enlightened man can be born. In the gathering of the Eucharist the Church experiences Christ's death and resurrection continuously, as a sacramental event. But death and resurrection are the two poles between which moves man's entire spiritual course. Man must die through asceticism so that he can live. He must become "dead indeed unto sin, but alive into God through Jesus Christ our Lord" (Rom 6.11).

The mortification of sin, this continuous death which is achieved through ascetic training, opens for man the horizon of understanding himself as being eternal, and sets the foundation for the revealing of the authentic human person. Here lies the basis of holiness. Asceticism as a way of life, and not simply as practice of certain specific methods or formal regulations, is the starting point and the presupposition for the realization, within every human 'ego' of the life of justification, of sanctification, of deification. Through asceticism and sanctification Christ himself conveys to man his own life, the life of passion and of resurrection; he makes him, through the power of the Holy Spirit, the participant of his uncreated divine energies, so that he can acquire the full knowledge of his own personal immortality and eternity, and to have the strength to abolish evil and every death and temptation, since as Christ himself put it: "Verily, I say unto you, he that believeth in me, the works that I do shall he do also; and greater works than these shall he do" (Jn 14.12). Through asceticism, through this continuous personal passion, the life of the God-Man Christ is placed upon the level of each individual believer. Thus, not only the creation of justification, but its appropriation is also the work of the God-Man.

The divine-human life of Christ is not a past, a memory, a useful teaching, or even a criterion for the life of the present; this divine-human life exists, entirely, in the theandric body of Christ, in the Church, and is being constantly experienced by each one of its members, "in the measure of every part." This theandric life was lived and is being lived through asceticism by the saints. The life of the saints is in reality this very life of the God-Man Christ. It is transferred from him to those who follow him and is lived by them in his Church. On this point I should clarify that I use here the term 'saint' more in a dynamic and broader rather than a static and narrow sense. Saints, inside the Church, with prophetic powers, who can transmit the sense of their eternity to the whole body of the faithful, are not only those who due to their personal struggle and virtue were proclaimed saints by the Church; but, also those who follow the life of saints, i.e., the life in Christ, and have "put off the old man, which is corrupt according to the deceitful lusts."

According to Orthodox understanding, justification is incarnated in these persons. They have been justified through faith and through deeds. They are those who have died and who die every day, and who for this reason are the sons of the resurrection. Going through death in every present instant of their life, they become the bearers of the life of Christ and hence they transcend death. Within the Church, the saints are authentic realities; 'gods' by participation, who can teach in an unerring manner, in a way which is incredibly stronger than myriads of books, and who can even influence the life and faith of people through their own life. The saints do not belong to themselves; they belong to the Church, they are 'catholic persons.' They are those who have surpassed themselves through ascesis, that is, those who have elevated their ego to the level of the catholic ego of the Church. They can, therefore, theologize with the theology of the Church and feel the pain of their fellowmen through the feeling of the Church.

At this point I must add one more clarification. In Western theology we often see a distinction being made between justification and sanctification. And one feels that we are dealing here with two separate stages which are clearly distinguished from each other. Justification is considered to be the first stage, the starting point, after which follows the second stage, sanctification. I maintain that in Eastern theology the matter is placed on a different basis. What is stressed here is not the distinction between justification and sanctification, but the dynamic character of justification. It is this very dynamism of justification which constitutes sanctification. Thus, man can become an infinite being with immense potentialities opening before him. Through baptism he puts on Christ; i.e., he participates in the justification which Christ himself created, while finding the way open for him to raise himself "unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ" (Eph 4.13). Justification is given fact, but at the same time it is a reality towards which man continuously advances. It is, in the final analysis, the process towards the nonending end of perfection.

Thus the saint, i.e., the one in whom justification is manifest in carrying on the divine-human life of Christ becomes the heart of the Church. He is a living testimony, a living 'epistle' who can teach the people of God. When Paul writes 'unto the Church of God which is at Corinth, with all the saints who are in all Achaia,' he says, "Ye are our epistle written in our hearts, known and read by all men: Forasmuch as ye are manifestly declared to be an epistle of Christ ministered by us, written not with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God; not in tables of stone, but in fleshy tables of the heart" (2 Cor 3.2.3). Writing these words Paul was not using a verbal exaggeration, but desired to express the fact that the saint, regardless of the time and period in which he may live, is in reality dogma being lived and applied, since he experiences the eternal and sav-

ing dogmatic truths in all their life-giving and creative power. In the person of the saint it becomes obvious, in an absolute way, that dogmas are not just ontological truths in themselves and for themselves, but that every dogma is a source of life and spirituality; a truth pointed out by Christ himself: "the words that I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life." Because the saint is himself a living doctrine, he is a kind of teacher and pedagogue within the Church. Because he himself continues the life of the God-Man Christ, that is, because he himself is the living manifestation of justification in every historic present of the Church's life, he can embrace the world. Through his grace he draws the world unto himself and sheds grace upon it.

Consequently, the subject 'Justification and Collective Faith' could be formulated in a more Orthodox theological manner, as "The Saints and the Communion of Saints."

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Confessing One Faith, A Joint Commentary on the Augsburg Confession by Lutheran and Catholic Theologians. By George Wolfgang Forell and James F. McCue, editors. Minneapolis, Minn.: Augsburg Publishing House, 1982. Pp. 344. \$15.00. Paper.

In the 500th year since the birth of Martin Luther, we find ourselves inundated with biographies, historical treatments and memorabilia of this "meddlesome monk." Certainly for Christians East and West, the figure of Martin Luther remains an enigma. However, the last three years have occasioned truly serious ecumenical scholarship focusing on the reformer and the confessions to which he gave rise, as well as the reconciling scholarship that has gone on in the last number of decades. This particular volume, a Roman Catholic and Lutheran commentary produced by twenty-four scholars, is a theological reflection on the Augsburg Confession which stands at the headwaters of the churches of the Lutheran Reformation. It will be an invaluable book for the casual scholar of Western Christianity and the professor seeking to introduce his or her students to the Reformation and ecumenical scholarship since that time. In assessing the theological import of Luther and his movement in our search for the restoration of unity in the apostolic faith, studies of the confessions of the Reformation churches serve us much better than the often inconsistent and irascible writings of Luther himself.

The ecumenical significance of this work is not only its historical import, but also its authentic search to reach through the Augsburg Confession and its confutation to the apostolic faith to which they sought to be faithful.

Thus we have now entered what could be called a time of ecumenical confessional formation. It is characterized by a turning back to consider the basic structure of the ancient church, which is important also for drawing together ecumenically with the Orthodox churches by an openness to the 'evangelical' impulses of the Reformation. For the Catholic Church, the urgency of this development arises out of its claim to catholicity. For this claim, as long as it meets qualified contradictions from a large part of Christendom, is not developed to its fullness (p. 57).

The hope of the churches of the Augsburg Confession was, and is, to renew Christendom in their understanding of evangelical soteriology delivered by the apostolic tradition. Thus, we have here a substantial ecumenical exercise crucial for every Christian community who holds to the Lord's mandate for restoring the unity of the ancient and undivided church.

It is a conviction of Lutherans today as it was for the Reformers

. . . that the Reformation congregations have not, as has been claimed, fallen away from the ancient church and founded a new church, but 'have remained faithful to the true ancient church.' Luther's struggle for the renewal of the church is, therefore, a struggle for the continuity of the church which, according to his conviction, will be preserved in its renewal (p. 176).

The intent of the Augsburg Confession is to retrieve from medieval Catholicism the orthodox elements in Western Christianity.

The statement "guard against new doctrine and retain the old" becomes for Luther immediately "guard against those who teach something other than that which the apostles have taught!" Here a basic consensus exists which goes far beyond Catholics and Lutherans: "the church is apostolic as long as it rests on this foundation (i.e. the apostles) and remains in the apostolic faith" (p. 178).

In looking at the large tradition from the vantage point of the Fathers of the East, one can recognize that the soteriological questions relative to justification by grace through faith, the understanding of original sin, and the understanding and practice of sacrament in its medieval juridical context, represent a division within one branch of the apostolic faith. This is the Western understanding of the faith shaped as it was by Augustine, and his particular understandings of grace and sin and by the Roman penchant for legal and scholastic categories. A careful study of this work by those whose soteriology, ecclesiology and sacramental theology are developed from different patristic roots will be helpful in testing the quality of reconciliation achieved.

The specific questions which stand between the churches calling themselves Catholic and Orthodox and the churches of the Reformation focus on ecclesiological issues relating to bishops and their role in the sacramental life of the church, and Reformation criticisms of Western abuses of the cult of the saints and monasticism. The chapter on monasticism will be of particular interest to those who have not been embroiled in the controversies of the Western church.

The absence of bishops in the churches of the Lutheran Reformation will be a persistent problem in the theological dialogue for a long while to come. However, the extended discussions in this book relative to the question of ministry and continuity in ministry, apostolic succession, and the position of the Augsburg Confession relative to bishops, will help to inform this discussion. Certainly, the role of the episcopacy, against which the reformers preached their gospel, is no longer a part of the experience of the church. The final question placed to the church of the Augsburg Confession and to the text itself relates not so much to the person and

office of the episcopacy, but rather to the whole question of ministry, sacrament and the understanding of church—implicit and explicit—in this Confession that claimed for itself catholic apostolicity. Whether or not the ecclesiological discussion represents an adequate reflection of the gospel, delivered through the apostolic tradition, will remain for further critics to ascertain. None of the difficult issues have been avoided in this discussion, however one evaluates their cogency.

It will come as no surprise to those familiar with the Lutheran churches that “sola scriptura” principle is a much fuller understanding of scripture in the continuity of tradition than one would gather from much of American Protestant culture.

The reference to Holy Scripture plays a very decisive role there (Augsburg Confession): Nevertheless, the argument is never “biblicist,” but always goes hand in hand with reference to the tradition of the church, the Fathers, the laws of the church, the history of the church, etc.” (190)

This dynamic relationship between scripture and tradition, with emphasis on scripture as a corrective to tradition, has become an important part of Western church life.

This quest for a new look at the churches that claim evangelical and catholic loyalty to the apostolic faith is a welcome addition to the theological discussion.

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Let Mercy Abound: Social Concern in the Greek Orthodox Church. By Stanley Samuel Harakas. Brookline, Mass.: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1983. \$17.95 Hardcover; \$12.95 Paper.

A large part of the interest in this book derives from its authorship. It comes out of the experience of an internationally renowned priest and scholar, formerly a dean of the Holy Cross Theological School in Brookline, Massachusetts. He is a cleric who is a committed Christian and keeps his professional commitment and his Christian understanding of life and social concerns in intimate relation with each other. The main thrust of his work has been primarily to gather together the evidence and sources from clergy-laity congresses; from encyclicals of His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos, Primate of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America; and from keynote addresses and proceedings of committees on social/moral issues in order to show that there is

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contributions to Reformation history. Schwarz makes the definitive statement that the "Church is wherever the Christian community is in union with its founder and head, Jesus Christ" (p. 244), and recalls that "The common priesthood of all who form the people of God is one of the rediscoveries of the Reformation" (p. 246), and goes back to the New Testament *laos* to support this view. Christ came to fulfill the law and the law is replaced by the Gospel. Schwarz cites the Augsburg Confession which states that the church "is the assembly of all believers among whom the Gospel is preached in its purity and the holy sacraments are administered according to the Gospel" (p. 274).

On the occasion of the 400th anniversary since the original publication of the correspondence between the Tübingen Theologians and Patriarch Jeremiah II of Constantinople on the Augsburg Confession and the 500th anniversary of Martin Luther's birth, it is not inappropriate for readers of this journal to examine Hans Schwarz's *The Christian Church*, which confesses that "The church is a community of people that transcends the visible boundaries of an institution and of space and time" (p. 300), and rediscovers those areas in which there are common grounds of agreement as well as those in which there is still disagreement. Even though Hans Schwarz is no Jaroslav Pelikan, his contribution deserves the attention of non-Lutherans.

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Contemporary Moral Issues Facing the Orthodox Christian. By Stanley S. Harakas. Minneapolis: Light and Life Publishing Co., 1982. Pp. 185. Paper.

The age in which we live presents us with many moral dilemmas unknown to preceding generations. Issues as varied and as complex as our involvement in the ecumenical movement, embryo fertilization outside the womb, the arms race, ecology, the energy crisis, and euthanasia, to name but a few, beg a response along the lines of genuine Orthodox tradition.

The rich tradition of the Orthodox Church is deposited in many of her treasures—the writings of the Fathers, her liturgy, her canons, her doctrines, and the many expressions of her spirituality. In her zeal, however, to preserve this tradition as it has been handed down from each preceding generation, the Orthodox Church has, to a great extent, retained it in its original forms of expression. Furthermore, several centuries separate our era from that of the great synods of the Undivided Church. Since then, with the exception of those synods convened to deal with

specific issues of their time, representative positions on many contemporary issues have been lacking. In view of this, the task of appropriation has often been left to specialists.

Fortunately, the local church in American and elsewhere in the world of Orthodoxy is not lacking in specialists. Eminently qualified as a spokesman for the Orthodox Church on the issues discussed, the author of this book is Professor of Orthodox Christian Ethics at Hellenic College—Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology in Brookline, Massachusetts. The value of his contribution lies in his ability to articulate a position on contemporary issues based on age-old Orthodox tradition. He, nevertheless, does not claim to be the infallible voice of Orthodoxy. On the contrary, those who may disagree with his conclusions are encouraged to reflect upon the issues. It is thereby hoped that discussion will take place which will lead to clarification and eventual consensus. It is then that the Church through her synodal system can decide authoritatively as a whole on matters which affect the spiritual life and growth of her faithful.

The process suggested is especially significant, in view of the role it relinquishes to the laity in forming and shaping the Orthodox standpoint on the issues at hand. This is the process which corresponds to the authentic practice of the Orthodox Church. Clergy and laity together reach a consensus before the hierarchy officially proclaims its synodal decision. At a time when more and more authority is being recognized to the laity—some of which, in the opinion of this writer, is canonically questionable—it is heartening to observe this correctly conceived recommendation.

Due to the need for an official pronouncement to validate the authenticity of an Orthodox consensus, it is evident that many issues are being addressed for the first time from an Orthodox perspective. The importance of this fact is apparent when one considers the reasons for which the "Great and Holy Synod of the Orthodox Church" was conceived. Another need is also met, although privately and unofficially, by providing directives to the burning problems of our day. Perhaps such initiative on the grass roots level is the way to proceed in involving the "laos," the entire people of God, in the preparatory work of the much awaited council. In any event, the time has come for the Church to speak in whichever way she deems fitting and proper. The author acknowledges his subjective role in articulating what he believes "the mind of the Church" would be, given her stand on similar issues in the past. Nevertheless, it is an opinion grounded on the sources of the faith by one who is thoroughly familiar with those sources.

The contents of the book are divided into four parts: Faith Issues, Church Life Issues, Sex and Family Issues, and Social Issues. Most of the articles comprising these divisions have appeared under a special column in the "Orthodox Observer," the biweekly newspaper of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America. The remaining

articles were written as position papers for the purpose of discussion and clarification. In either case, the articles were written with the clarity and precision characteristic of all the writings of this author. Furthermore, they have been written not for the specialist specifically, but for the concerned Orthodox Christian searching for answers to the questions which concern us all.

To this end, the book *Contemporary Moral Issues Facing the Orthodox Christian* can serve as an ideal resource for initiating discussion on the issues addressed. Whether in the home, the school, or the parish; whether for the young generation or the old generation, this book has something useful to say to all. From experience, this writer can attest to the success in part of a college-level course in which this book was required reading. The challenging questions raised with each issue assured lively discussion each time the class met. One can only hope that a companion volume containing issues not yet touched upon will follow.

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Hellenic College-Holy Cross

Ἡ Ἀγωνία τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως. By Nicholas E. Damtsas. Athens: Publication of the Newspaper of the Constantinopolitans *O Polites*, 1982. Foreword by Themistocles Hatzidemetriou. Pp. 137. Cloth. 38 Plates (unnumbered).

It is important that the living witness of those of the Orthodox faith, who have lived in Constantinople in contemporary times, be preserved and assessed, especially now that the Greek Orthodox population of Istanbul has been reduced from the over 100,000 that it was during the thirties to the fewer than 5,000 that are still there now, with the consequent reduction in the physical property of the Greek Orthodox community to insignificance and the tragic diminution of the educational and ecclesiastical resources of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Turkey itself. *The Agony of Constantinople* looks like an album, but it is a coherent collection of articles of a newspaperman from Constantinople, one who also served as translator for the Greek consulate in that city, that were published in the Athens newspaper *Polites*. Though there is absolute historical continuity in what the author does, he invariably draws upon the experience of his own lifetime. He divides his story into three principal periods: (1) from the Fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans to the Ottoman Political Reform of 1908; (2) from the Political Reform of 1908 to the Treaty of Lausanne; and (3) from the Treaty of Lausanne to the present. The picture that emerges is not an encouraging one: from a thriving Greek Orthodox community and a respected and influential Patriarchate to a situation in

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REVIEWS

Faith Healing in Late Byzantium: The Posthumous Miracles of the Patriarch Athanasios I of Constantinople by Theoktistos the Stoudite. By Alice-Mary Talbot. Brookline, Mass: Hellenic College Press, 1983. Pp. 162 Cloth \$17.00, Paper \$12.00.

Dr. Alice-Mary Talbot has made another notable contribution to the literature on the life and work of the Patriarch Athanasios of Constantinople (1289-1293; 1303-1309). Her *Faith Healing in Late Byzantium* has as its centerpiece the critical text and translation of the Logos on the Translation of the Relics of Athanasios. While her first work, *The Correspondence of Athanasios I, Patriarch of Constantinople* (Washington, D.C., 1975), might be classified as historical and political, albeit on the subject of a thoroughly ecclesiastical character, this work is more properly hagiographical. In spite of its popular sounding title, it is the hagiographical focus which, in this reviewer's opinion, represents a contribution to the field of late Byzantine church historiography.

Athanasios, until the publication of Talbot's edition of approximately two-thirds of his letters from *Vaticanus graecus* 2219, was a relatively unknown ecclesiastical figure. The only references to the patriarch in the literature were ill-informed and hostile to his rigid and harsh personality. The work of this reviewer himself is deeply indebted to Talbot's thorough and foundational contributions to late Byzantine history.

Faith Healing in Late Byzantium begins with an Introduction (pp. 11-42) in which Talbot discusses the life, death, and, more significant for the text of the Logos, the posthumous cult of Athanasios; second, she treats the author of the Logos, Theoktistos the Stoudite, and the history of the text of the Logos; third, less interesting to the general reader, albeit essential to a critical edition of the text, is the description of the actual manuscript, detailing the various items which make up the codex *Const. Chalc. Mon.* 64, entirely devoted to the memory of Athanasios and containing the only extant text of the Logos.

The second part of the book is the parallel text and translation of the Logos (pp. 43-124), detailing the patriarch's death, burial, exhumation, the translation of his relics, and the fascinating interplay of petition and healing by faithful Orthodox. The text, as in her first book, is a critical rendering of the manuscript. The parallel English text follows. In general, the English rendering is excellent, with the exception of occasional run-on sentences; far too long for the reader to follow with ease (e.g. p. 49, section 5).

The third part of the work is the Commentary (pp. 124-44) on selected

passages of the text in need of historical, prosopographical, bibliographical, scriptural, or grammatical elucidation. Talbot's critical work on the text is excellent, but entirely too selective in what is included. Finally, the book also includes two appendices on the dates and works of Theoktistos the Stoudite.

The Introduction offers nothing new from Talbot's earlier book or that of this reviewer on Athanasios as patriarch. After a brief and familiar presentation of the salient features of Athanasios' life and career, Talbot focuses on the relatively unknown period after his second resignation in 1309, during which time he maintained his residence at Xerolophos and had little to do with public life. The last firm historical notice of his existence dates from the Arsenite settlement of 1310. Talbot conjectures that Athanasios probably lived until 1315 or 1320, with 1323 being the most reasonable *terminus ante quem* for his death. Athanasios' relics were translated sometime around 1326 from his grave to the monastic Church of Christ the Savior, where they soon became the object of veneration and noted for their healing power. Not surprisingly this aspect of the patriarch's career has received scant attention, as he apparently played no active political or ecclesiastical role after 1309.

While his life after 1309 and the Logos may not be particularly valuable for the secular historian, they are valuable for the history of Palamism and canonization procedures in Byzantine Christianity. Talbot mentions both, but develops neither to any extent in an all too brief Introduction. Talbot's emphasis and interest, in spite of her sympathy for the subject, is foundational, presenting the Logos as source material for further study. She hints at or briefly mentions subjects of tantalizing fascination for the Byzantine Church historian; in this reviewer's opinion, the major contribution of the work is in the area of hagiography and canonization procedures in the late empire. The author notes that the fourteenth century showed a general revival of interest in holy men, saints, and particularly ascetics. This is not surprising in the context of the weak, heretical, and uninspiring secular leadership of the Palaeologian house. Athanasios is, perhaps, the first such example of these holy men to arise in the period of the Palaeologian dynasty. Attention focused on the church and churchmen for leadership. Of interest is her brief, though excellent, treatment of the document as apparently a text for a canonization procedure, quite unusual in the Byzantine empire even at this late period. The text becomes all the more valuable in light of the fact that only about eight people were "officially" canonized by the Church of Constantinople in the fourteenth century. She notes, for instance, that the Logos reads like an dossier for canonization, implying that some formal procedure was applied, at least selectively, in the mid-fourteenth century. The nature of this procedure and its place in Byzantine social, political, and ecclesiastical life is a fascinating contribution to the discussion of canonization procedures in the late Byzantine empire.

The period of Athanasios' canonization and veneration has several examples of canonization by synodal decree of which Athanasios' is but one. What characterized this bureaucratic procedure, as opposed to the so-called popular procedures, was the insistence, as in the west and perhaps under western influence, on the evidence of miracles. Palamas is a second such example of this procedure that was seemingly used for Athanasios (see R. Macrides, "Saints and Sainthood in the Early Palaeologian Period," in *The Byzantine Saint*, edited by Sergei Hackel. London: Sobornost, 1981, p. 83). This is precisely one of Talbot's conclusions: the Logos "reads like a dossier of evidence for canonization." It is this procedure, witnessed by the Logos, that illustrates a process for the recognition of sanctity which differs from what had apparently been the Byzantine practice, centering on local popular veneration. Talbot discusses the distinction between ἀναγνώρισις and ἀνακήρυξις (p. 21). The distinction being not between official and unofficial (i.e. popular), but between general (or Constantinopolitan) and local (popular). Athanasios' case illustrates the new procedure as well as the accompanying demand for a collection of miracles to support the procedure. Talbot writes that this procedure was "perhaps a result of greater contact with the Latin Church after the Fourth Crusade and the union of Lyons" (p. 23). With Macrides, this reviewer, however, tends to see the origins of Byzantine procedure within the Byzantine political and ecclesiastical system itself. To this end Talbot notes that there were in fact political and ecclesiastical factors encouraging the use of a formal procedure. The fact that Athanasios' canonization is associated with Palamas' in 1368 is politically significant (p. 26). She conjectures that Athanasios' canonization occurred in the 1350s as an effort to underwrite Palamism. Talbot correctly perceived this connection between Palamas and Athanasios.

It is Talbot's discussion of the canonization process which is the value of this work and which could have been profitably its primary focus. The distinction between the local and general veneration, rather than between official and popular, is actually quite significant and a fruitful area for further investigation given the dearth of material on the subject.

What remains unclear to this reviewer is the relative dating of the "formal" canonization of Athanasios and the composition of this Logos. If, as Talbot hypothesizes, the canonization can be conveniently dated to 1350s, why then is the Logos dated in the 1330s, given the fact that Talbot describes the Logos as a "dossier" for canonization? To what procedure does the text of the Logos refer? If it refers only to the translation of the relics, then why enumerate all of the miracles? Does the text refer to one of the annual occasions of the parading of the relics to the Great Church? All of this is left unanswered only because Talbot's Introduction is too brief. If the only fault of a historian's work is the brevity of its Introduction, it is indeed a minor blemish to an otherwise excellent

piece of critical work on the Logos on the Translation of the Relics of Athanasios. We can only look forward with great anticipation to Dr. Talbot's future contributions.

Faith Healing in Late Byzantium is highly recommended to Byzantine and Church historians who will find this a valuable contribution to the history of the Church in the fourteenth century.

J. L. Boojamra
Saint Vladimir's

The Place of Blessed Augustine in the Orthodox Church. By Seraphim Rose. Introduction by Alexey Young. California: Saint Herman of Alaska Press, 1982. Paperbound. Pp. 45 + addenda.

In certain ultra-conservative Orthodox circles in the United States, there has developed an unfortunate bitter and harsh attitude toward one of the great Fathers of the Church, the blessed (Saint) Augustine of Hippo (354-430 A.D.). These circles, while clearly outside the mainstream of Orthodox thought and careful scholarship, have often been so vociferous and forceful in their statements that their views have touched and even affected more moderate and stable Orthodox believers and thinkers. Not a few writers and spiritual aspirants have been disturbed by this trend. So it is that I am absolutely delighted to have a copy of Father Seraphim's small, but powerful, tome on the significance and status of Saint Augustine in the Orthodox Church. His book is particularly significant since it comes from the pen of a spiritual writer, who, before his untimely death in 1982, was a chief advocate of moderation and careful, charitable thinking about the Church and her Fathers among some of the most conservative Orthodox elements in this country—an advocacy that earned him, more often than not, the flat condemnation of the ultra-conservative factionalists mentioned above.

It is certainly true that, in terms of classical Orthodox thought on the subject, Saint Augustine placed grace and human free will at odds, if only because his view of grace was too overstated and not balanced against the Patristic witness as regards the efficacy of human choice and spiritual labor. Likewise, as an outgrowth of his understanding of grace, Augustine developed a theory of predestination that further distorted the Orthodox understanding of free will. And finally, Augustine's *theology* proper, his understanding of God, in its mechanical, overly logical, and rationalistic tone, leads one, to some extent, away from the mystery of God—which is lost, indeed, in Saint Augustine's failure to capture fully the very mystery of man. About these general shortcomings in Augustinian thought there can be no doubt. And it is with these precise weaknesses in mind that Father

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articles were written as position papers for the purpose of discussion and clarification. In either case, the articles were written with the clarity and precision characteristic of all the writings of this author. Furthermore, they have been written not for the specialist specifically, but for the concerned Orthodox Christian searching for answers to the questions which concern us all.

To this end, the book *Contemporary Moral Issues Facing the Orthodox Christian* can serve as an ideal resource for initiating discussion on the issues addressed. Whether in the home, the school, or the parish; whether for the young generation or the old generation, this book has something useful to say to all. From experience, this writer can attest to the success in part of a college-level course in which this book was required reading. The challenging questions raised with each issue assured lively discussion each time the class met. One can only hope that a companion volume containing issues not yet touched upon will follow.

Lewis J. Patsavos
Hellenic College-Holy Cross

Ἡ Ἀγωνία τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως. By Nicholas E. Damtsas. Athens: Publication of the Newspaper of the Constantinopolitans *O Polites*, 1982. Foreword by Themistocles Hatzidemetriou. Pp. 137. Cloth. 38 Plates (unnumbered).

It is important that the living witness of those of the Orthodox faith, who have lived in Constantinople in contemporary times, be preserved and assessed, especially now that the Greek Orthodox population of Istanbul has been reduced from the over 100,000 that it was during the thirties to the fewer than 5,000 that are still there now, with the consequent reduction in the physical property of the Greek Orthodox community to insignificance and the tragic diminution of the educational and ecclesiastical resources of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Turkey itself. *The Agony of Constantinople* looks like an album, but it is a coherent collection of articles of a newspaperman from Constantinople, one who also served as translator for the Greek consulate in that city, that were published in the Athens newspaper *Polites*. Though there is absolute historical continuity in what the author does, he invariably draws upon the experience of his own lifetime. He divides his story into three principal periods: (1) from the Fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans to the Ottoman Political Reform of 1908; (2) from the Political Reform of 1908 to the Treaty of Lausanne; and (3) from the Treaty of Lausanne to the present. The picture that emerges is not an encouraging one: from a thriving Greek Orthodox community and a respected and influential Patriarchate to a situation in

which both are on the point of physical extinction after a significant period of systematic—even government-inspired—persecution. The Armenian genocide is more than alluded to, and the elimination of the Armenians from Turkey is now paralleled by the more subtly managed elimination of the Greek Orthodox minority from the Anatolian peninsula. If there is a theme that is fully documented, it is that systematic discrimination against non-Muslims has been a persistently pursued policy of the modern Turkish state, and though it has occasionally met with protests from the international community, this policy has enabled the Turkish government to eliminate practically all minorities so that it is now 99.9% Muslim pure.

Nicholas Damtsas' book is a kind of memorial to a Constantinople that was and now no longer exists. It is a historical reminiscence of an Orthodox Christian community whose roots in Asia Minor and Constantinople (founded by the first Christian emperor) are much deeper than any Turkish Muslim roots. It is a testament to the architectural and archaeological Christian monuments of early Christian, Byzantine, Ottoman, and modern times for which there will soon be no Christian caretakers, but only ignorant, uncaring, hostile desecrators. It is a grim epitaph to a once proud and flourishing Christian city that is now breathing its last gasps of Christian life, and of which we shall soon have only the memories and the pictures provided by a book like *The Agony of Constantinople*. It is the story of church-state relations in which a hostile and unenlightened state has managed to destroy one of the most precious heritages it was historically charged with preserving.

John E. Rexine
Colgate University

What Are They Saying About Christ and World Religions? By Lucien Richard. Ramsey, New Jersey: Paulist Press, 1981. Pp. 87.

The present volume is an elaboration of the contemporary theological thought on the important issue of Christology in relation to other world religions. In contemporary American academic settings, where all religions are open for discussion, the Christian needs to come to grips with the central doctrine of Christ and the absoluteness of the Christian claim of salvation.

The author of the present work grapples with the problem of Christology from the exclusive and inclusive perspective and other traditional expressions of the doctrine of Christ. He offers an excellent overview of Protestant and Roman Catholic theological positions, inclusive and exclusive Christologies and the search for nonexclusive Christology that will not degrade the claims of other world religions.

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and social questions from clergy-laity congresses to Moral Issues Committees and to Patriarchal pronouncements on certain subjects. He draws extensively on topics such as civil rights, race relations, women's concerns, human rights/human dignity, family life, pornography, homosexuality, abortion, etc. While the book at first seems rather theoretical (and it *is theoretical* in the sense of dealing with underlying principles), it comes to terms realistically with most urgent specific problems that society faces today. All these questions, however, are set in the framework of the Christian view of what God intended when he first created man and expected him to live in a society made up of people who react one to another. In spite of the scholarly method of the author, his interest is primarily pastoral; he writes to give guidance, through official pronouncements of the church with the Archbishop as spiritual leader, to people living in a cosmos full of perplexities and pitfalls, in which "life's demands are becoming more unbearable everyday."

The unconventional title, *Let Mercy Abound*, reflects the fresh quality of this book. For those who are interested in a full understanding of Archbishop Iakovos' theology and sociology of the church and its mission in the world, Chapter 2, "Social Concern in the Encyclicals of Archbishop Iakovos" is one of the most provocative chapters written about the Archbishop skillfully singling out those aspects of this great visionary that have made him a reflector of the new directions that the church is taking. In particular, Father Harakas helps us see that our church, which has within its bosom the whole Truth, must be more concerned for the whole church than, only for its own institutional life.

Miltiades B. Efthimiou
Greek Orthodox Archdiocese

Human Growth and Faith: Intrinsic and Extrinsic Motivation in Human Development. By John T. Chirban. Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1981. Pp. 213. \$11.50. Paper.

I feel a certain confidence in saying that *Human Growth and Faith: Intrinsic and Extrinsic Motivation in Human Development*, by Dr. John T. Chirban, will be found by every reader to be a difficult book. The theologian will find it difficult. The developmentalist will find it difficult. The ego psychologist will find it difficult. The person interested in studies of motivation will find it difficult. The statistician will find it difficult. Surely, the intelligent lay person will find it difficult. In reviewing the book, I find its very difficulty the key to its value. With due respect, then, to the book and to its young author, I think it is useful to begin our consideration of it by addressing that quality, its difficulty to readers from many quarters.

Although this is an academic work (it is a doctoral dissertation, Harvard Divinity School, 1980), the book is also very much a *personal* work. Its thesis, its very conception, reflects its author both in the vision that generates it, and in the complexity that gives it its form. Thus, the book has the quality of encounter, of elements that are not yet in friendly or productive dialogue. This is not a casual encounter. It is an encounter of seemingly disparate elements, pulled together by a powerful force that is central to the dissertation. We learn of this force in the very first paragraph of the Acknowledgements where it is stated explicitly: "Since I was twelve years old, I was concerned with human 'inner experience'. . . ." Because this is an academic work, however, we do not learn the specific details of how the various elements that form the work are attracted by and put to the service of exploring and articulating this concern with human inner experience. Perhaps that is another book written by an older man.

I think the difficulty of the book is the result, then, both of the power of its central concern, and of the seemingly disparate elements that are marshalled to state the central concern, to study it and explore its depth and subtlety. What are these elements?

From the subtitle: "Intrinsic Religious Motivation" refers to the "striving of religious experience which stems from within the individual." Extrinsic religious motivation "refers to the religious striving stemming from external needs or concerns" (p. 5).

Human development refers to the study and description of the structure that underlies and is a vehicle for the unfolding of a human life.

These elements are presented in the idiom of the post-Enlightenment West. They are characterized, thus, by a careful concern with the objects and events of the physical world, the world of time and space, and by a self-conscious concern with the procedures and processes of the mind that can address the world of space and time.

Besides the elements stated in the subtitle of the book, we have those in the title, *Human Growth and Faith* which refer to the human creation in its dynamic or emergent aspect, in its participation in or relationship to its Creator.

Now this last is the idiom of another age, an age that predates the age of the Enlightenment. The author of *Human Growth and Faith* is clearly familiar with, and, I think, clearly in sympathy with the concerns of the Patristic Age to speak about God, and about the relationship of the human creation to its Creator. In his comfortable familiarity with the Patristic Age, the author deals with the agenda of that now ancient time with ease. It is as though he knows the language of each of the two, the post-Enlightenment West and the Patristic Age, and can make instant translation, like the children in a bilingual family, who use two languages with executive skill in their communication, leaving the monolingual person

amazed, befuddled, and perhaps a little anxious about what is being said. Herein lies the difficulty of the book.

Its value, I think, is that it brings before us the struggle of this post-modern period in which we find ourselves, to "understand," to know, beyond the limits of discursive reason.

I want to affirm the relevance of the struggle evident in this book. I want to affirm its author's conviction that the effort to bring to encounter the accomplishments of the age just ending in the West and the fruit of the Patristic Age can be productive and is, indeed, what is called for at this time. I want to affirm the intuition that the legacy of those who sought God within themselves and humbly offered, for the life of the world, the fruits of that labor with no pretense of ownership or desire for the world's rewards has great relevance for this present moment of human history. There is risk in this affirmation, however. The risk is that the magnitude of the challenge of translating the truth of the ancient legacy for the ears of the present will, somehow, not be appropriately recognized. Clearly, much more work is to be done.

For example: 1) The concept of motivation can be explicated with more care and clarified. Clarification is also needed as to what the addition of "religious" means for this concept. Theological reflection, I think, is what is needed here. Does not the Judeo-Christian sense of the Fall of human creation speak of this concept? (The Orthodox understanding of the Fall is of the dimming or clouding of the original Image of the Creator within the creature, even as the knowledge of good and evil is achieved, and of the promise of the restoration of the image in the New Adam.) Also the sense of intrinsic and extrinsic, of inner and outer, in reference to the human person can be much more useful than it is at this point. Again, my own sense is that theological reflection is needed so that more adequate operational definition of these terms is possible.

2) The structural developmental paradigm limits its look at the development of persons to the life cycle from birth to death. How can this paradigm be put into a context that is both more sensitive to the historical moment of the individual life and to dimensions of life that are beyond time and space?

3) Reflection is needed relative to epistemological issues in order that the concept of "mystery" may be used productively. To say that the West sees mysticism and the relationship of the cataphatic and apophatic way differently than does the East is too facile. Perhaps the reality is not that the West sees the relationship differently, but that the West has not yet paid attention to the problem. How can those of us who see the problem through our heritage of the ancient age, speak of it in the language of *this* age? The corollary to this is: Lucid reflection is needed relative to the "appearances" that cataphatic theology addresses. How can the light cast by contemporary (Western) disciplines be useful to this effort?

The author's sense of collecting and charting the lights lighted during several centuries of holy lives lived to the glory of God (Appendix 16, "Schematic Drawing of Spiritual Development," p. 185, and Appendix 16, "Orthodox Approaches to Knowledge," p. 187ff.) is right on target. The two appendices, taken together give a graphic illustration of the central dogma of the faith. The mystery of human personhood: God's saints, each expresses in his or her own personal way the one and only truth. I wish these two appendices could be made more generally available for the edification and instruction of those who want to understand the legacy of Orthodoxy. They form not an appendix so much as a cogent rendering of Dr. Chirban's thesis.

Vasiliki Eckley
Galveston, Texas

Essays in Honor of Joseph P. Brennan. By Robert F. McNamara. Rochester, New York: Saint Bernard's Seminary, 1977. Pp. 158.

The essays presented in this volume were written by the members of the faculty of Saint Bernard's Seminary in Rochester, New York, in honor of the tenth anniversary of the Rector.

The following topics and contributors are included in the present volume: "Charles Briggs: A Pioneer of Theological Ecumenism" by Francesco Turvasi, Professor of Systematic Theology, is the first essay. It deals with the problem of unity and ecumenism. Briggs, a Protestant-American theologian pursued research in the quest for truth in the early part of this century. The author attempts to show that Briggs' desire for dialogue was fulfilled by the Second Vatican Council.

John Healy, Professor of Systematic Theology, wrote on "Empathy with the Cross: A Phenomenological Approach to the 'Dark Night.'" He addresses the phenomenological philosophy that began by Edmund Husserl in an attempt to extricate philosophy from the subservience of empirical and social sciences. Sebastian A. Falcome, the Academic Dean, wrote on "The Kind of Bread We Pray for in the Lord's Prayer." He offers some thoughts on the proper exegesis of the adjective *epiousios*. He presents several interesting hypotheses on the *epiousios* in the context of the Lord's Prayer.

Joseph G. Kelly, Professor of Scripture, discusses "The Interpretation of Amos 4.13 in the Early Christian Community." He gives statistics on the use of this verse of Amos by the early Christian writers and church Fathers, a very useful essay in the method of exegesis of Old Testament scripture by the Christian community in its formative years.

Joseph M. Janowiak, Professor of Moral Theology, discusses Christian

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REVIEWS

Ideology, Letters and Culture in the Byzantine World. By Ihor Ševčenko. London:Variorum Reprints, 1982. Pp. 368. Cloth.

This volume contains thirteen articles written in 1955-1980, one of which (no. 8) is in French, although an English version of this item is available.¹ The book under review differs from the recently published collection of Ševčenko's essays (see *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 27 [1982], 83-97) not only in subject, but in scholarly style and approach as well. We will find here no new publications, except for a short anti-iconoclastic poem (13, p. 43); no translations from Greek, except for a passage from the Life of Anthanasios of Athos (12, 245f.); and only the occasional codicological diversions (9, 249-65) do remind us of Ševčenko as a student of manuscripts. If not ideology (a word whose significance I do not quite understand: for the Marxist scholar it should designate the world of ideas as reflection of social conflicts; for the theologian, the world of ideas outside religion, perhaps with evil connotations), then culture is the major hero of the book, and its the principal subject of investigation.

Three aspects of Byzantine culture are emphasized in the book: culture's duration in time, i.e., the problem of cultural traditions; culture's variation in space, i.e., the difference of cultural attitudes in the capital and the province; and culture's penetration into neighboring areas, namely to the Slavs.

Few problems have been as intensively explored as that of ancient traditions in Byzantine culture; nevertheless, Ševčenko was able to find his own approach toward the subject. The notions of "Ancient" and "Christian" are for Ševčenko not abstract generalities, or overall forces, or lofty allegories—they were acting on the human level, within the framework of human relationships. Not only does he show that in the fourth century pagan literary culture entered Christian letters by means of school and of the open intercourse between Christian and pagan literati (2, 49), but he also shows that the church fathers, who were shaping and moulding the Byzantine world view, used "two registers, the pagan and the Christian" mixing them differently for different audiences; moreover, their literary practice did, time and again, contradict their programmatic statements (p. 60f.). In a single, but not accidental phrase Ševčenko stresses the social background of the cultural stability

¹"Theodore Metochites, the Chora and the Intellectual Trends of His Time," *The Kariye Djami* 4 (Princeton, 1975).

²Now the Life is republished by J. Noret, *Vitae duae antiquae Sancti Athanasii Athonitae* (Turnout Brepols, 1982), cf. par. 254.

of early Byzantium or, as I prefer, the Late Roman empire, and I will quote this substantial sentence: "No radical change occurred in the composition of the elite" (p. 59). He finds, however, some changes as soon as he "steps some rungs down the social ladder" (p. 62) and he seems to accept the seventh century as a "chronological limit" (p. 64) even though the mechanisms of the seventh-century transformation are not displayed in the article, and we are reduced to guessing how the late antique elite were changed (or replaced) around the seventh century. Some light is shed on this controversial question in another of Ševčenko's articles.

It is typical of the author to deal predominantly with minor genres of Byzantine literature. To be sure, he does mention historians ("In Malalas we find a tidbit stating that Cicero and Sallust were poets" (2, 62); he dedicates two and a half pages to the epic poem of Digenis Acritas (6, 732-34); but his work is centered, first of all, on the less known kinds of literary production—admonitions and treatises, letter and speeches, and especially on saints' lives. According to my approximate calculation, there are about sixty hagiographers and hagiographic works mentioned in the book, whereas only fifteen historians appear there, some of whom in other, non-historical capacity. A special article is dedicated to hagiography of the Iconoclast period; besides particular—sometimes momentous—observation (for instance, Ševčenko rejects the views of those scholars who have denied Deacon Ignatios's authorship of the *Life of George Amastris* [5, 10-18] which is, by the way, the single source for the attack of the Rhos on Amastris before 842), he proposes an idea which seems paradoxical at first sight: we have no saints' lives dealing with Iconoclasm and written in the eighth century before the *Life of Romanos the Neomartyr*, beheaded in 780, and this particular *Life* was issued beyond the empire's borders (5, 3f.). Ševčenko offers a theory that some Iconoclast lives did exist, and that some *Iconodule vitae*, among which he counts Methodios's *Essay on Saint Nicholas* as the *Vita of Saint Philaretos the Merciful* (p. 17-19) are very circumspect, perhaps because they were composed under Iconoclasm. Whatever their nature, both works are dated in the first half of the ninth century, and do not alter the image of the barrenness of the eighth century with respect to hagiography. If we go a step further, we can see that the second half of the seventh century was also unproductive when it came to hagiography, and that this relative barrenness was not limited to hagiographic activity. Did not something happen to greatly weaken the ancient elite responsible for the flourishing civilization of the fourth through the first half of the seventh century.

The problem of the Byzantine renaissance, or renaissances, is mentioned in passing. By the very beginning of the ninth century, Ševčenko asserts, "the first Byzantine humanism was in full bloom." (5, 22).

Ševčenko does not propose a definition either, let alone clarify the appalling question about the "elite" capable of producing this late humanism of Metochites.³

If the antique heritage of Byzantium has been treated over and over again by various scholars, the author's article on "cultural space" (6) is absolutely innovative and very provocative. He studies there the attitudes of the province toward the capital, and distinguishes four different zones for examining these attitudes: the first zone comprises "the greater Constantinople"; the second one, provinces in western and west-central Asia Minor; the third, parts of the eastern frontier; and the fourth, some of the lands lost completely, or partially, to the Arabs (6, 718). "The head of the empire," concludes Ševčenko, "may have been large and important, but when seen from the far end of the tail, that head appeared insignificant, indeed" (p. 741). Again, he prefers to rely upon nonhistorical sources—he says he does it on methodological grounds—but it seems that even historians can support his vision of Byzantium. Attaleiates, a historian of the eleventh century, whose ancestors may have originated from Attaleia, was a writer quite interested in Constantinople; he dared, however, to apply the proud epithet "the navel of the earth" to a small town in the area of Tauros (ed. Bonn, p. 133.4-7; the relevant text should be corrected according to the Escorial manuscript of Attaleiates).⁴ On the other hand, some hagiographic texts demonstrate a different attitude to Constantinople. The Life of Saint Nikephoros of Miletos is very provincially oriented, but at the eve of his death, in a vision, Nikephoros saw the Church of Hagia Sophia which appeared as a symbol of paradise.⁵ Even more surprising, albeit controversial, is the Life of Saint Baras written by John Mauropous, Metropolitan of Euchaita; the exiled Constantinopolitan intellectual—"exiled," if the Life was produced in exile: but this is only a guess—related the longing of Egyptian hermits to come to Constantinople; they left their country and moved from city to city and across countries where foreign languages were spoken.⁶ This feature is more typical of the eleventh century, when Mauropous wrote the text, than of the fifth, when Baras is supposed to have lived.

Besides hagiographic texts, Ševčenko studies in this article

³I understand that Ševčenko is discussing humanism, small elites and the problem of Renaissance vs. revival in late Byzantium in the chapter after the collective work *Renaissances before the Renaissance*, soon to be published by the Stanford University Press.

⁴See A.P. Kazhdan, "Social'nye vozzrenija Michaila Attaliata," *Zbornik radova Vizantoloskog Instituta*, 17 (1976) 49.

⁵H. Delehaye, "Vita Nicephori Milesii," *AB* 14 (1895) 159.25-34.

⁶A.I. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Μαυρογορδάτειος Βιβλιοθήκη, Ἀνέκδοτα Ἑλληνικά (Constantinople, 1884) 41, par. 3.43-45.

Kekaumenos's *Admonitions*, a curious and unique work of the eleventh century (6, 727-30). According to Ševčenko, Kekaumenos was "a county squire," living away from the capital, in the third zone, and he had "a different perspective of the imperial figure." To the author, that means that Kekaumenos considered the emperor as a super-magnate, not a divine person. I disagree with this concept.⁷ First, we have no evidence of Kekaumenos being a country squire in Asia Minor; there are only three facts of Kekaumenos's biography surely known to us—in 1041 he participated in an expedition against [O]delian: in 1042 he dwelt in Constantinople and was an eyewitness to Michael V's deposition. Eventually he held office in the theme of Hellas. The traditional idea that Kekaumenos was a general—accepted among others by G. Litavrin, the editor of the *Admonitions*—is based above all on the assumption of his identity with Katakalon Kekaumenos now rejected by the majority of scholars including Litavrin himself. The text gives no data about his military command, and if he ventures to give advice both to strategos and to the toparch, he also addresses his admonitions to the emperor, the patriarch, and the civil functionary. He does not mention any of the artistocratic families of his time, such as the Komneni or Dalasseni: among the emperors of the eleventh century, Michael IV and Michael VII are approved more than anybody else, and Isaak I, the ideal of provincial nobles, is not even named. Kekaumenos approves of Nikephoritzes's activity. And so on and so forth. Kekaumenos's family, began its ascent as a family of provincial governors and military commanders but by the end of the eleventh century it shifted towards civil service, as is shown by the examples of Basil protosecretis and judge and Constantine Protokankellarios, whose seal was recently published (*Corpus des sceaux* 2 [Paris, 1981], No. 1158). Secondly, the concept of the emperor's divinity, certainly did become problematic at this time, but it was questioned much more efficiently by Psellos than by Kekaumenos, and Psellos was unquestionably a member of the Constantinopolitan civil elite.

But even though certain of Ševčenko's observations need some slight corrections, his study of provincial attitudes towards the capital is a fresh and very important contribution.

The third aspect, Byzantine impact on the Slavic world, is represented by several articles dealing with some particular questions. Two of them, the Cyrillo-Methodian mission (6) and Christianization of Kievan Rus' (8), have been so thoroughly investigated by a crowd of scholars that it is very difficult to find a single source's line that was not surrounded by volumes of secondary literature. As Ševčenko mentions in his preface,

⁷ In fairness to Ševčenko, I should say that he does refer to the differences between his and my own conceptions of Kekaumenos' personality, and quotes one of my relevant works on the subject (6, 730, n. 28).

A. Poppe tried quite recently to reconsider the problem of the Rus' Christianization, and now no move in this field is possible without taking into consideration Poppe's paradoxical views on Vladimir's role at the siege of Cherson. Two other articles are dedicated to the post-Byzantine period: one is clearly headed, "Byzantium and the Eastern Slavs after 1453" (pt. 10), whereas the second, "Agapetus East and West" (pt. 3) is located chronologically between the fourth to seventh and the ninth centuries, though Ševčenko speaks there about translating, borrowing from, and commenting on Agapetus in the sixteenth, and even the eighteenth centuries. These articles demonstrate the importance of Byzantine and post-Byzantine influence on the Slavs (and not only the Slavs—Roumanians as well), but it was not the author's intention to provide us with a general perception of the stream of Byzantine ideas penetrating the neighboring worlds.

The collection of articles is introduced with a brilliant piece of work of a most general nature, and here Ševčenko contemplates two kinds of historical writing. Some historians, he says, are butterflies aiming at broad-scale generalization, while others are caterpillars investigating small facts, and in so doing, recreating the history of the past. Even though Ševčenko gives lip service to the equality of both genres, his sympathy is with technical scholarship. He defends the right of that scholarship: the House of History, concludes Ševčenko, has been built, not only by the likes of Gibbon, but also by people like Mabillon; and he says even more insistently: "There are no Gibbons without Tillemonts" (1,345). No doubt this thesis is correct. And even more correct is his statement that "the only history [one] can be taught to produce is technical history" (*ibid.*). The question is, however, which of these two genres need to be defended. I think that in Byzantine studies at least the technical historians have the upper hand and the superior esteem; their work is regarded to be *the* work, the description of sources being regarded as much more important than the content of sources. There are some reasons for such a view: the work of mere erudition has a longer life expectancy than does the blossoming of any hypothesis; Zachariae von Lingenthal's publications as well as his reference book on Byzantine law are still in use—but who will remember his ideas about the role of the Slavs in the restructuring of Byzantium of the seventh and eighth centuries? And Ševčenko himself, the pathos of polemics having been cooled, does look at the problem from a different viewpoint: "A moment's reflection," postulates Ševčenko with slight irony, "for which we erudites, unfortunately, seldom have time" (5,10). Here is the real danger: "We erudites" (is not the word tantamount to caterpillars?) suffer much more from the lack of reflection than that of technical skill. Byzantine studies are still at the stage of gathering and classifying rather than at that of reflecting and understanding.

But books, such as the one reviewed here, console me in my distress, since, in fact, they constitute a unity that combines masterful caterpillarism with the flight of an ingenious butterfly.

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Dumbarton Oaks

Themes in Orthodox Patristic Psychology Volume. 1, *Humility*. Archimandrite Chrysostomos. Etna, California: Center for Traditionalist Orthodox Studies, 1983. Pp. 85 + iv.

This is the first in a series of volumes dealing with specific topics in the psychology of the Fathers of the Egyptian desert. It is the second publication of the Center for Traditionalist Orthodox Studies, a study and publication program under the auspices of the Saint Gregory Palamas Monastery in Etna, California (formerly in Hayesville, Ohio). The author, Abbot of the Saint Gregory Palamas Monastery and a psychologist by academic training (Ph.D., Princeton), is aptly qualified to attempt the difficult task of defining an Orthodox Patristic psychology. Father Chrysostomos, an Old Calendar zealot, is the spiritual son of the Abbot-Bishop of the Holy Monastery of Sts. Cyprian and Justina, in Fili (Athens), Greece, himself the spiritual son of the famous Archimandrite Philotheos Zervakos. Thus, as the author indicates in his introduction, he draws from a healthy spiritual background in his work. The fact that the Old Calendarist zealots have such an eminently qualified scholar to express their traditional views, and that Father Chrysostomos is so moderate in his views toward the New Calendar Orthodox jurisdictions, can make his voice appealing to a wide Orthodox audience—an appeal lamentably lacking in many of the “traditionalist” Orthodox circles. His many appeals and efforts for Orthodox unity make many of his writings essential for an American, English-speaking Orthodox audience, the present volume being no exception.

This and other projected volumes in the series will follow the major divisions appearing in the *Euergetinos*, the primary collection of writings of the early Egyptian monastics. Father Chrysostomos first attempts to develop a basic understanding of the particular theme and then traces its continuity through later and contemporary Fathers. In the current volume, the author provides an initial orientation to true Psychology, as perceived and practiced by the early Orthodox Fathers. This overview is necessary for a better understanding of both the projected series and the first volume, which deals with the highest virtue, “mother of them all”—humility. We discover that mind and spirit can cooperate harmoniously to form a ‘wholeness’ which constitutes the person. This whole-

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Jesus Christ – The Life of the World

THEODORE G. STYLIANOPOULOS

GLORY TO GOD who lives and reigns for ever!

Glory to the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, one kingdom, one power, one life!

Glory to the sovereign Lord, “who is and who was and who is to come, the Almighty” (Rev 1.8, RSV)! “For from him and through him and to him are all things. To him be glory for ever” (Rom 11.36)!

Dear brothers and sisters in Christ,

One of the joys of faith which has sustained Orthodox Christians through many centuries of persecution is the celebration of Easter. Holy Pascha, as we call it, is a new passover, a passing from death to life, a festival of life, light, and joy. With lighted candles in our hands, we spend much of Pascha morning singing hymns to Christ, the victor over death and giver of life:

The day of resurrection! Let us be radiant in splendor!
Pascha of the Lord! Christ, our God, has led us from
death to life, from earth to heaven!

Christ is risen from the dead, trampling death by death,
and to those in the tombs granting life!

Saint John's Prologue

FOR THE PASCHAL Liturgy the appointed Gospel reading is the prologue of Saint John, the magnificent hymnic expression of the faith of the Church in all ages that Christ is life, truth, and grace. Let us join in spirit the saints of all times and places in confessing “Jesus Christ—the Life of the World” by reciting with one heart Saint John’s prologue as a hymn to Christ. I invite you now to stand as we read together the prologue from the Gospel according to John:

*A main address to the First Plenary Session of the Sixth Assembly of the World Council of Churches, Vancouver, B.C., on July 25, 1983.

In the beginning was the Word,
and the Word was with God,
and the Word was God.
He was in the beginning with God.

All things were made through him,
and without him was not anything made
that was made.

In him was life,
and the life was the light of [humankind].
The light shines in the darkness,
and the darkness has not overcome it.

* * * *

The true light that enlightens every [person]
was coming to the world.

He was in the world,
and the world was made through him,
yet the world knew him not.
He came to his own home,
and his own people received him not.

But to all who received him,
who believed in his name,
he gave power to become children of God,
who were born, not of blood
nor of the will of the flesh
nor of the will of man,
but of God.

And the Word became flesh
and dwelt among us,
full of grace and truth;
we have beheld his glory,
glory as of the only Son from the Father.

* * * *

And from his fulness have we all received,
grace upon grace.
For the law was given through Moses;
grace and truth came through Jesus Christ.
No one has ever seen God;
the only Son,
who is in the bosom of the Father,
he has made him known.

(Jn 1.1-5, 9-14, 16-18)

My brothers and sisters,

By faith we have gathered in this hospitable city of Vancouver from all around the globe, from Russia to South Africa, from England to Argentina, from Japan to India, that we may both confess and also witness to Christ as the true life, the giver of life, and the life of the world. What an enormous challenge! We have come together relying not “on ourselves but on God who raises the dead” (2 Cor 1.9), that we may lift up Jesus Christ who was lifted up on the cross that the world may live.

The early Christian hymn that we recited a moment ago extols Jesus Christ, the preexistent and incarnate Word of God, as the cosmic mystery of God’s revelation in all things, especially in human beings. The preexistent Word, the life and light of all, according to this song of faith, reveals divine life through *creation*, through *incarnation*, and through *sanctification*. Life in him is a life of grace and truth, adoption as children of God, and a beholding of God’s glory. The eternal Word himself is the instrument of the revelation of God’s glory throughout the material and spiritual cosmos, to the end that all creation may be disclosed in its true nature as a burning bush ablaze with the glory of the Triune God, Creator, Redeemer, and Sanctifier.

But the doxological affirmations of faith and the hymnic language of Saint John’s Gospel should not lead us to overlook the reality of evil, the tragedy of sin, the realm of darkness, which resist God’s work. True life is not recognized. The light is rejected. Although the light overcomes the darkness, God’s victory is achieved only through the cost of the cross. Just as the hands and feet of the crucified Christ were pierced by spikes, so also God’s creative, redemptive, and sanctifying activities in the world are attacked by demonic forces ever ready to destroy life. Grace and sin, truth and falsehood, love and hatred, so we are told by the evangelist of the Fourth Gospel, everywhere engage one another. The battleground is the human heart and will. Our choice is God’s gift of abundant life or the terrible emptiness of death.

All Things Were Made Through Him

WHAT DOES IT MEAN to confess God as Creator? By confessing that “all things were made through him” (Jn 1.3) we affirm that life is a gift of God and achieves its true purpose in closest link with him—whereas alienation from him is death. Life in its amazing multiplicity of forms, species, and levels is cohesive, sacred, and inviolate. Like the bread and wine of the eucharist, all of it can be consecrated to God and mirror the glory of God. By confessing God as the Source of life and the Lord of life we recognize that all creation is a eucharist in his presence. It is to be received thankfully and responsibly as a common table of God’s love, not as an unclaimed or unprotected treasure for hoarding and abuse.

Saint Kosmas Aitolos, an itinerant monk, priest, evangelist, and mar-

tyr, working among peasants in northwestern Greece during the late eighteenth century, expressed this truth about life as a gift of God with powerful simplicity:

God has many names, my brothers. The principal name of God is love. He is a Holy Trinity: Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, one nature, one glory, one kingdom, one God. We should first love God, my brothers, because he gave us such a large earth to live in, so many thousands of people. And he gave us plants, fountains, rivers, oceans, fish, birds, night and day, sky, sun and moon...For whom did he create all of these if not for us? What did he owe us? Nothing. They are all his gifts...Now I ask you, my brothers, tell me whom do you want, God or the devil?¹

In the perspective of Saint John's Gospel creation has simultaneously a christological and anthropological focus. The preexistent Word is the creative power that upholds all things but the primary goal of his loving action is humanity: "In him was life, and the life was the light of [humankind]" (Jn 1.4).² For the Fourth Gospel the term *cosmos* signifies not so much nature but chiefly the world of human affairs, personal and corporate. In deep, often inarticulate ways we human beings most clearly sense that we do not possess life of ourselves. Rather we partake of the gift of life and seek fulness of life. The message of Saint John's Gospel is that God offers not mere life, that is, natural existence which is assumed, but true life, eternal life, a quality of life penetrated by his presence and will. The tragic problem of humanity is that we often seek to secure life in selfish ways which breed evil and corruption. Caught in our self-blindness, we refuse to trust in the Creator and obey his truth. Hence our hatred and violence, our injustice and oppression, our love of possessions and hedonism, all expressions of the will to live gone wild. Behind all this is refusal to believe, willful evil, insecurity, slavery to the survival instinct, and fear of death. The result is a cosmos ruled by demonic powers, darkness, and deadness. It is in this sense that, according to the Fourth Gospel, the term *cosmos* takes on the negative connotation signifying a world deliberately choosing to remain in darkness, a world set against its Creator, a world wholly "in the power of the evil one" (1 Jn 5.19). But the darkness does not overcome the light!

¹N.M. Vapori, *Father Kosmas: The Apostle of the Poor* (Brookline, 1977), pp. 19 and 91. I have combined two of Kosmas' statements in the above citation. See also the excellent study by P.S. Vallianos, "St. Kosmas Aitolos: Faith as Practical Commitment," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 25 (1980) 172-86.

²The RSV reads "men" instead of "humankind." I am also aware of the alternate punctuation of vss. 3b-4a translated: "That which has been made was life in him." But this seems improper to me because the prologue's reference here is not to created but uncreated life, the Word himself, who is the life and light of humankind.

And the Word Became Flesh

“AND THE WORD became flesh and dwelt among us” (Jn 1.14). What is meant by incarnation? The Gospel of Saint John, unlike those of Saint Matthew and Saint Luke, tells us nothing about the birth of Jesus. Although the fourth evangelist clearly affirms the *fact* of the Word’s incarnation, his emphasis falls on the incarnate Word’s *activity* in the world. For Saint John’s Gospel incarnation is above all the reality of the unique presence of God in the person, words, and works of Jesus of Nazareth. Through his historical ministry Christ discloses God’s creative, redeeming, and sanctifying power: “My Father is working still, and I am working” (Jn 5.17).

Jesus healed the official’s son (Jn 5.46-54). He restored the health of the paralytic (Jn 5.2-9). He fed the multitude (Jn 6.1-14). On another occasion Jesus healed the blind beggar by a special act. “He spat on the ground and made clay of the spittle and anointed the man’s eyes with the clay, saying to him, ‘Go, wash in the pool of Siloam.’” (Jn 6-7). In this act of making clay the Church fathers saw a symbol of the creation of humanity now being ‘re-created’ by the incarnate Word. Saint John Chrysostom comments that Christ, the self-same Creator, and not the pool of Siloam, healed the blindman.³ Through such signs, as well as through his person and words, the Johannine Christ reveals his intimate relationship to the Father and also his divine prerogative of granting life as an act of grace (Jn 5.21, 26). He is “the resurrection and the life” (Jn 11.25), “the bread of life” (Jn 6.35), “the bread of God” (Jn 6.33), “the only Son from the Father” (Jn 1.14), indeed God the Word in the flesh (Jn 1.1, 14), giving life to the world.

The incarnation may be interpreted in several ways. It is an expression of God’s unconditional love for humanity. The entire mission of the Son is prompted by divine love (Jn 3.16). “In this the love of God was made manifest among us, that God sent his only Son into the world, so that we might live through him” (1 Jn 4.9). The incarnate Word *became* flesh that the love with which the Father loved him may abide in us (Jn 17.26).

The incarnation is also a sharing, an embrace of life by Life, a total identification of God with the object of his love. The Word “pitched his tent” (ἐσκήνωσεν, Jn 1.14) among us that he might be “touched with our hands.” (1 Jn 1.1) In his treatise *On the Incarnation* Saint Athanasios writes that the incarnate Word moved among people, becoming an object of their senses, healing and teaching by word and deed.⁴ “To all who received him,...he gave power to become children of God” (Jn 1.12),

³Homily 57.1 on Saint John. See *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, First Series, vol. 14 (Grand Rapids, 1969), p. 204.

⁴*De Incar.*, 3.14-15.

and to be his "friends" (Jn 15.14-15) and "brothers" (Jn 20.17). John, Irenaios, Origen, Athanasios, Chrysostom and others all interpret the incarnation in the light of a theology of sharing—the Son of God became man in order that human beings might become children of God by grace. In this light the unity of Christ's full divinity and full humanity is the fundamental soteriological truth behind the trinitarian and christological teaching of the Church.

Finally, the incarnation is redemption, the liberation of life, "life confronting and overcoming death," according to the formulation of the second subtheme of this Sixth Assembly. The presence of the incarnate Word in the world is an invasion of life into the realm of darkness. Especially Christ's passion, death, and resurrection, viewed as one movement of return to the Father,⁵ represent his "hour of glory," the hour when the powers of sin, satan, and death are decisively defeated and new life takes hold in the world. Christ is Redeemer. "Behold, the Lamb of God, who takes away the sin of the world" (Jn 1.29)! An Orthodox icon of the resurrection depicts the risen Christ shattering the gates of hades, breaking to pieces the bonds of death, and raising up Adam and Eve to new life. This same theme resounds frequently in Orthodox hymns:

When you descended into the realm of death, O immortal life,
you put hades to death by the dazzling light of your divinity.
When you raised up the dead from the dark abyss, all the powers
of heaven cried out: Christ, our God, giver of life, glory to you!
(*Paraklitike*, Dismissal Hymn, Tone 2)

And From His Fulness Have We All Received

THE SUFFERINGS OF CHRIST should not cause us to overlook his moments of joy with people. One of them was the marriage in Cana where Jesus turned the water into wine. The fourth evangelist alone reports this miracle and places it at the beginning of Jesus' ministry. Already much wine had been drunk. But Jesus made between one hundred and twenty and one hundred eighty more gallons of new wine (Jn 2.6-9), a hyperbole. The joy of the marriage, the festivity of the wedding banquet, and the abundance of wine all symbolize the fulness of life brought to the world by Christ upon whom the Spirit descended and remained (Jn 1.32). The incarnate Word was rich in "grace and truth" (Jn 1.14). The Law, *given* through Moses, was a gift of God. The only Son bearing the glory of the Father now brings "grace upon grace" (Jn 1.16). The pairing of "grace" and "truth" is well attested in the Jewish tradition (*hesed* and *'emet*). God was revealed to Moses on Sinai as a merciful and gracious God "abounding in *steadfast love and faithfulness*" (or rich

⁵See R. Brown, *The Gospel According to John I-XII*, *The Anchor Bible*, vol. 29 (New York, 1966) p. 507.

in *hesed* and *'emet*, Ex 34.6). "Truth" is faithfulness, constancy, or fidelity. "Grace" is steadfast love, covenant love, merciful love, or loving kindness.⁶

Abundant life in Christ is life in community. "We have beheld his glory" (Jn 1.14). "And from his fulness have we *all* received" (Jn 1.16). The community consciousness is especially high in the Farewell Discourses of Saint John's Gospel (chaps. 13-17). Against the background of the washing of the disciples' feet and the Last Supper, Jesus shares with the disciples the bread of divine love and the intimacy of discipleship. He tells them about his mission in the world, their mutual relationship, and his abiding presence among them through the Spirit. He reveals to them his relationship to the Father and the Spirit; he prays to the Father that they may be sanctified in the truth and may share his glory; and he prepares them for mission. He is departing to the Father but he gives to them the Spirit to teach them all things. He also leaves with them his peace, assurance of victory, and commandments of love, mutual service, and unity. This is the risen Christ speaking to his Church in all ages about who he is, who the disciples are, what they are to do in the world and how to do it. The Lord and his Church are like the vine and the branches bearing fruit for the life of the world.

An example of a disciple who heard his Master's voice is one Ivan Ilyich Sergiev, better known to Orthodox as Saint John of Kronstadt, an amazing witness to the abundant life of Christ lived in community. A pastor of a large cathedral, a man of the Eucharist, a man of the Scriptures, a man of prayer — truly a beloved disciple of the Lord — he washed with the waters of divine love the feet of thousands upon thousands of beggars and tramps who were concentrated in Kronstadt on the Baltic by government policy.⁷ The slums of Kronstadt were described as follows: "Those places were terrible — one found in them darkness, dirt and sin: there, even a seven year old child might be a profligate and a thief."⁸ Father John shared with these poor people the richness of his life in Christ not only through the encouraging joy of the good news but also through an immense community project of which Father John, yes Christ in him, was its life-power.

He advertised in the *Kronstadt Herald*,⁹ pleaded with the public,¹⁰

⁶Ibid. p. 14.

⁷Bishop Alexander Semenov-Tian Chansky, *The Life of Father John of Kronstadt* (Crestwood, 1979) p. 13.

⁸Ibid., quoting the words of the writer A.V. Knuglov.

⁹Ibid., p. 17. Father John perceived not only the private but also the social causes of poverty as, e.g., in this advertisement: "Who does not know of the swarms of beggars in Kronstadt?...The reasons for their extreme poverty are many; for instance: poverty from birth; poverty due to orphanhood; poverty deriving from accidents such as fire and theft; poverty due to loss of work or incapacity to work owing to old age or illness; laziness; weakness for alcoholic drinks; and mainly, lack of the equipment necessary to start

mobilized people of education and means,¹¹ and finally in 1882 the Home for Constructive Labor was opened, a phenomenal success. According to statistics by 1902, 7,281 men worked in its bag-and-hat shops, 259 children were enrolled in its free elementary school, and up to 800 meals per day were served in its public eating house. The Home also featured job training in carpentry, shoe-making, and sewing, a library, a Sunday School, and even a summer camp boasting its own vegetable garden. Father John's biographer comments: "Such organized welfare, initiated by a parish priest, was at that time an unusual, a novel event...[and it is] the more exceptional, because his practical activity did not prevent him from remaining in a state of constant, profound prayer and spiritual contemplation."¹² This "praying priest" as he was called, a splendid example of orthodox evangelical Christianity, who knew nothing about a neat distinction between the 'vertical' and 'horizontal' dimensions of Christian life, most surely knew who was his life-source and the life-power of his work:

The Lord is everything to me: He is the strength of my heart and the light of my intellect. He inclines my heart to everything good; he strengthens it; he also gives me good thoughts; he is my rest and joy; he is my faith, hope, and love; he is my food and drink, my raiment, my dwelling place.¹³

The Only Son From the Father

WHILE THE PROLOGUE as well as the entire content of St. John's Gospel extol the incarnate Word's significance for the world as the creative, redeeming, and sanctifying presence of the Triune God, the limelight is cast on the grandeur of the person of Christ himself whose glory is "glory as of the only Son from the Father" (Jn 1.4). Christ does

work, such as descent clothing, tools or instruments.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 18, quoting Father John: "Do not be afraid of the immensity of such an enterprise; God will help us in a good work and with God's help everything which is needful will be forthcoming."

¹¹Ibid., quoting Father John: " 'the strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak' (Rom 15.1). [Therefore] in the presence of such diverse potentialities in our Kronstadt society, with all its talents, its great numbers of educated, active and often wealthy people, it would be a sin before God and men to leave so many of our members alienated, isolated and deprived of their share of prosperity."

¹²Ibid., p. 21. For the statistics see pp. 19-21.

¹³*My Life in Christ: Extracts from the Diary of Saint John of Kronstadt*, Part I, trans. E.E. Goulaeff and reprinted by Archimandrite Panteleimon (Jordanville, 1977), p. 225. A thematic selection of Saint John's diary extracts has been compiled by W. Jardine Grisbrooke, *Spiritual Counsels of Father John of Kronstadt* (Westminster, 1966) and recently reprinted by St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, Crestwood, N.Y. (1982).

not merely *teach* about or *transmit* life, light and truth; he *is* also all these. He is the "Son of God and the King of Israel" (Jn 1.49), the "Holy One of God" with life-giving words (Jn 6.68-69), and the Lord and God (Jn 20.28). He who comes to give abundant life to all declares: "you will die in your sins unless you believe that I am he" (the divine name, *egō eimi*, Jn 8.24; cf. Ex 3.13). By virtue of his unique relationship to God the Father (1.1, 18) the incarnate Word reveals: "I am the way, and the truth, and the life; no one comes to the Father, but by me" (Jn 14.6). The whole Gospel of St. John was written to the end that all may believe that Jesus is the Christ and that believing [they] may have life in his name" (Jn 20.21).

How can this absolute claim that Christ is not *a* but *the* life of the world be properly interpreted in a contemporary world of religious and ideological pluralism, a world shrunk to the extent that a satellite can travel around it in a few hours? Ours is a problem of affirming a christology neither 'from above' nor 'from below' but from both—that is the theological witness of Saint John. To be sure, this is not a scientific or philosophical but confessional claim—the central spiritual claim of the Christian faith. We must freely admit that this claim as other transcendent claims by other religions, has from the early days of Christianity led Christians to sinful patterns of triumphalism, intolerance, and persecution unworthy of Christ who preached love of enemies and forgave his crucifiers from the cross. We need to repent of our sins before the world and seek in the mystery of the cross to find ways of lifting up Christ as an invitation of faith, love, and freedom, an invitation which must not be abused either for selfish ends or to force anyone's conscience.

Saint Maximos the Confessor,¹⁴ Saint Isaac the Syrian,¹⁵ and other Church fathers taught that divine love knows no distinctions between sinner and righteous, friend or enemy, believer or unbeliever, but rather is ready to be sacrificed equally for all. Woe to those who would lay claim to Christ, the incarnate Love of God, that they may breed self-righteousness and intolerance, prejudice and polemics, injustice and oppression, hiding all manner of sin and ignorance. It is only through pursuit of the perfect love of Christ that we can discover the freedom of confessing the glorious name of Christ, while in love respecting the spiritual claims of others. Only through such love can we perceive differing

¹⁴"For him who is perfect in love and has reached the summit of dispassion there is no difference between his own or another's, or between Christians and unbelievers, or between slave and free, or even between male and female," in *The Philokalia: The Complete Text*, vol. 2, trans and ed. G.E.H. Palmer, P. Sherrard, and K. Ware (London and Boston, 1981), p. 70

¹⁵See *Mystic Treatises by Isaac of Nineveh*, trans. A.J. Wensinck (Amsterdam, 1923, reprinted Wiesbaden, 1969), pp. 38-39.

transcendent claims among Christians themselves and also among others as the cherished values of their historical experience without feelings of disloyalty to Christ.

That Christ is the life of the world, therefore, is above all a call to Christians themselves for radical repentance, spiritual renewal, urgency on the walk toward unity, common witness, prophetic action, being ready to die for others in Christ's name. We ourselves then become, and only then, convincing in our confession of Christ as the life of the world. Christ came not to judge the world but to save it. By his grace, that is also our task. In the words of Saint Dimitri of Rostov, let us confess Christ as our Life, Light, and Lord, and pray to him to cleanse us from sin and to energize us for this task:

Come, our Light, and illumine our darkness.
Come, our Life, and revive us from death.
Come, our Physician, and heal our wounds.
Come Flame of divine love, and burn up the thorns
of our sins, kindling our hearts with the flame
of your love.
Come, our King, sit upon the throne of our hearts
and reign there.
For you alone are our King and our Lord.¹⁶

¹⁶K. Ware, *The Orthodox Way* (Crestwood, 1979), pp. 21-22. I have rendered the prayer in the plural.

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personalism and political theology in his essay on "The American Seminary: Transcendental or Political Kingdom." He reflects on traditional Thomism and other alternative theological systems that would be authentic witnesses to liberty and justice.

William Graf, Professor of Homiletics and Pastoral Theology, offers "Some Reflections on Reconciliation." The essay points to the importance of reconciliation within the life of the Christian community. The challenge of the messengers of the Good News is to preach and share these glad tidings with the world. This is attained in the new creation of peace.

The essay by Jasper Green Pennington, a priest of the Episcopal Church and the Director of Library at Saint Bernard's Seminary, presents "Fulton John Sheen: A Chronology and Bibliography." This detailed bibliography on the life and thought of the late Archbishop Sheen is very useful for those who would do research on the modern Roman Catholic Church in America.

The final essay, "Some Hidden Harmonies in the Fifth Book of Psalms," was written by Joseph P. Brennan, Rector of Saint Bernard's Seminary. This scholarly essay utilizes the rabbinic and Christian Patristic commentators, as well as modern ones, to show the harmony of the psalms.

The present work is very useful for the understanding of what some theological seminary faculty of the Roman Catholic Church in America are researching, reflecting and theologizing.

George C. Papademetriou
Holy Cross Greek Orthodox Seminary

Justinian the Great: The Emperor and Saint. By Asterios Gerostergios. Belmont, Mass.: Institute for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, 1982. Pp. xii + 312. Frontispiece + 33 plates. \$14.95, Cloth. \$9.95, Paper.

The Byzantine Emperor Justinian (527-65) gave his name to the most productive age in the history of Byzantium. Asterios Gerostergios' title page summarizes his accomplishments with the following:

Illustrious Byzantine Emperor, Legislator and Codifier of Law, profound Theologian, remarkable Author, and great Defender of the Orthodox Christian Faith, exemplary Philanthropist, Founder of Hagia Sophia at Constantinople, other magnificent churches and the Monastery of Saint Catherine on Mount Sinai, Supporter and Organizer of Monasticism, and a Saint of the Orthodox Church.

Any student of Byzantine history is fully aware of the numerous books and articles that exist on Justinian in every major language concerned with

Byzantine studies. Most such works are directed toward Justinian's legislative, military, architectural, administrative, economic and religious achievements. As a priest of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, who has studied extensively in Greece, West Germany, and the United States (with a Ph.D. in Church History from Boston University), Father Gerostergios has been particularly interested in dealing with the religious policy of Justinian and has striven in his book, which was originally presented in 1974 as his doctoral dissertation in a completely different text and format, "to illuminate and evaluate Justinian's religious convictions. Its problem is to demonstrate and evaluate the relation between his religious beliefs and his official religious policies and actions as emperor" (p. 13). The original contribution of the author is to determine the degree to which Justinian's religious policy and actions were consistent with his religious beliefs. Other scholars have concluded that Justinian became an absolute monarch in the empire and the Church through force; became the supreme authority for all ecclesiastical matters relating to faith; attacked the authority of the Ecumenical Synods and the Papacy; utilized the church for personal and political gain; forced the church of the East to accept and approve his doctrinal decisions; and opposed the church of the West and subjected it to himself. Dr. Gerostergios does not agree and challenges all of these conclusions. Dr. Gerostergios carefully lists his sources, which include the theological writings, letters, religious and ecclesiastical decrees of Justinian and the writings of Justinian's contemporaries, but also emphasizes the *theological* role played by the emperor. The author is especially concerned with Justinian's religious policy from 518-65.

Justinian the Great is organized in seven substantial chapters: "Introduction"; "Justinian in His Time"; "Justinian as Author and Theologian"; "Justinian and the Non-Christians"; "Justinian and the Christian Heretics"; "Justinian and the Orthodox Church"; and "Summary and Conclusions." There is a substantial bibliography (pp. 205-37) that is apparently unaware of the important work of Deno Geanakoplos of Yale on Justinian and extensive notes (pp. 238-81), a list of abbreviations, and a good index. There is evidence that the author's Latin has been translated from Greek or is nonexistent (cf. *Udicatum* for *Iudicatum passim*). Central to Gerostergios' understanding of Justinian are the assumptions that Justinian restored and continued the old imperial power of the Romans and promoted the unity of church and state. If Justinian had done nothing else, his reputation could stand on the *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, which Gerostergios acknowledges and puts to good use for his own special purposes.

In examining Justinian's writings, Father Gerostergios finds that Justinian's theological teaching was the basis of his whole religious policy and was certainly not a new creation: "It was, however, a re-examination and a fresh statement of the faith of the Orthodox Church, and of Orthodox theology of the past." Justinian did not bring to light new teachings. He

simply expressed and defended the faith of the Orthodox Church in his own way, in his treatises, letters, decrees" (p. 64). His treatment of the heterodox was based on their opposition to the Orthodox faith and "it was the intent of his theological writings to shake every theological foundation that the heterodox were setting against the Orthodox Faith" (p. 66). In the case of Monophysitism, the emperor worried all his life about the problem, and his policies are reflected in three main historical periods: 1) 518-36 ("One of the Holy Trinity has suffered in the flesh"); 2) 536-53 ("The Three Chapters" controversy); 3) 553-65 (attempt to impose the decisions of the Fifth Ecumenical Synod). The Emperor's relations with Pope Vigilius are detailed and used to show that Justinian preferred reconciliation to confrontation and schism. Dr. Gerostergios rejects the argument that Justinian succumbed to Aphthartodocetism and points out that the emperor never issued, or planned to issue, an edict imposing it. All the evidence Gerostergios can adduce points to Justinian's making every effort to bring the Monophysites back to the Orthodox fold. In the case of monastic life, Justinian strove through his laws to bring back some order to it and reduce or eliminate the disruptive effect of monastic quarreling and disorder on church and state. Constantly, Gerostergios believes, the emperor sought to base his religious policy of unification on the right dogmatic grounds.

Finally, Emperor Justinian was concerned with the religious and moral elevation of his people through a morally regenerated episcopal leadership. He supported the traditional rights of the five Patriarchates (Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem). He was concerned about the quality of the priests and deacons. He showed great interest in monasticism and philanthropic institutions.

This review has highlighted only a few of the rich observations of Dr. Gerostergios' research. His *Justinian the Great* adds a dimension to the study of this remarkable Byzantine emperor that will certainly complement that of other studies. Despite some typographical infelicities and linguistic aberrations, the author successfully demonstrates "that the religious beliefs of the emperor are fundamentally consistent and internally interdependent. The emperor's actions in regard to the religious problems of his time are in accord with his Orthodox faith. Between his Orthodoxy and his actions, there exists such an internal relationship as to lead us to conclude that the first is a primary causative and motivating basis of the second" (p. 202).

Justinian the Great: The Emperor and Saint is a worthy addition to the ever-growing body of first-rate materials on Byzantine history and civilization.

John E. Rexine
Colgate University

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office of the episcopacy, but rather to the whole question of ministry, sacrament and the understanding of church—implicit and explicit—in this Confession that claimed for itself catholic apostolicity. Whether or not the ecclesiological discussion represents an adequate reflection of the gospel, delivered through the apostolic tradition, will remain for further critics to ascertain. None of the difficult issues have been avoided in this discussion, however one evaluates their cogency.

It will come as no surprise to those familiar with the Lutheran churches that “sola scriptura” principle is a much fuller understanding of scripture in the continuity of tradition than one would gather from much of American Protestant culture.

The reference to Holy Scripture plays a very decisive role there (Augsburg Confession): Nevertheless, the argument is never “biblicist,” but always goes hand in hand with reference to the tradition of the church, the Fathers, the laws of the church, the history of the church, etc.” (190)

This dynamic relationship between scripture and tradition, with emphasis on scripture as a corrective to tradition, has become an important part of Western church life.

This quest for a new look at the churches that claim evangelical and catholic loyalty to the apostolic faith is a welcome addition to the theological discussion.

Brother Jeffrey Gros, F.S.C.
New York City

Let Mercy Abound: Social Concern in the Greek Orthodox Church. By Stanley Samuel Harakas. Brookline, Mass.: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1983. \$17.95 Hardcover; \$12.95 Paper.

A large part of the interest in this book derives from its authorship. It comes out of the experience of an internationally renowned priest and scholar, formerly a dean of the Holy Cross Theological School in Brookline, Massachusetts. He is a cleric who is a committed Christian and keeps his professional commitment and his Christian understanding of life and social concerns in intimate relation with each other. The main thrust of his work has been primarily to gather together the evidence and sources from clergy-laity congresses; from encyclicals of His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos, Primate of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America; and from keynote addresses and proceedings of committees on social/moral issues in order to show that there is

beginning to emerge a clear and articulate social ethic among the Greek Orthodox faithful in this country.

A further and more fundamental thesis of the book, though, is that the Orthodox churches have not seriously concerned themselves with social or political questions, and as the author so aptly states, "The evidence presented here raises a number of questions for the reader and those interested in the development of social concern in the Orthodox Church." A main part of Father Harakas' diagnosis is the hesitancy of the church to assume an active role in social concerns areas. He asks the question, "What is being done to help the pronouncements (of the congresses, of the encyclicals, of the committees), become action?" He is critical of much of the church's failure to devise a method by which issues of social concern in the church can be addressed thoroughly on the local, diocesan and archdiocesan level. He does not hesitate to bare his testimony that he is raising these questions without answering them since his work should be considered only as "a record of a new beginning," with the understanding that it is with God in Christ that makes man "to be whole." He is, however, less concerned with the treatment of possible solutions to the crisis than with chronicling the statements, events, and teachings of Orthodoxy and its social concerns.

Being teacher as well as scholar and theologian, Father Harakas' basic ideas become clear through his first chapter in which he shows the church's traditional role of concern for the poor, the needy and the suffering. His earlier works, articles, sermons and books, such as *Living the Liturgy* and his stirring *Contemporary Social Issues*, have already shown that he is an authority in the field. Without sacrificing his intellectual depth, he clothes fundamental concepts of Orthodox social concerns in simple language and a pleasant style. Instead of only using traditional religious Orthodox phraseology, his writings formulate both questions and answers in the discourse of thoughtful men and women, both Orthodox and non-Orthodox of today. His general approach can fairly be called (to use an overworked word) "existential." He begins by focusing on the problems of which modern man is keenly conscious by citing in Chapters 2, 3, 4 and 5, the social concerns in the encyclicals of Archbishop Iakovos, in clergy/laity congresses' addresses, in statements by committees and the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese, and then goes on to show how the Orthodox Christian interpretation of our existence is based on this material as reflections of Orthodox ideals. Although the keynote of his book is that there are "no conclusions; many questions," it is still the eternal that is to be experienced in the temporal.

In a characteristic methodological approach, his work is an extraordinarily complete and comprehensive study. Starting from encyclicals and keynote addresses of Archbishop Iakovos, he proceeds to build a towering structure of closely articulated thought on decisions; on moral

and social questions from clergy-laity congresses to Moral Issues Committees and to Patriarchal pronouncements on certain subjects. He draws extensively on topics such as civil rights, race relations, women's concerns, human rights/human dignity, family life, pornography, homosexuality, abortion, etc. While the book at first seems rather theoretical (and it *is theoretical* in the sense of dealing with underlying principles), it comes to terms realistically with most urgent specific problems that society faces today. All these questions, however, are set in the framework of the Christian view of what God intended when he first created man and expected him to live in a society made up of people who react one to another. In spite of the scholarly method of the author, his interest is primarily pastoral; he writes to give guidance, through official pronouncements of the church with the Archbishop as spiritual leader, to people living in a cosmos full of perplexities and pitfalls, in which "life's demands are becoming more unbearable everyday."

The unconventional title, *Let Mercy Abound*, reflects the fresh quality of this book. For those who are interested in a full understanding of Archbishop Iakovos' theology and sociology of the church and its mission in the world, Chapter 2, "Social Concern in the Encyclicals of Archbishop Iakovos" is one of the most provocative chapters written about the Archbishop skillfully singling out those aspects of this great visionary that have made him a reflector of the new directions that the church is taking. In particular, Father Harakas helps us see that our church, which has within its bosom the whole Truth, must be more concerned for the whole church than, only for its own institutional life.

Miltiades B. Efthimiou
Greek Orthodox Archdiocese

Human Growth and Faith: Intrinsic and Extrinsic Motivation in Human Development. By John T. Chirban. Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1981. Pp. 213. \$11.50. Paper.

I feel a certain confidence in saying that *Human Growth and Faith: Intrinsic and Extrinsic Motivation in Human Development*, by Dr. John T. Chirban, will be found by every reader to be a difficult book. The theologian will find it difficult. The developmentalist will find it difficult. The ego psychologist will find it difficult. The person interested in studies of motivation will find it difficult. The statistician will find it difficult. Surely, the intelligent lay person will find it difficult. In reviewing the book, I find its very difficulty the key to its value. With due respect, then, to the book and to its young author, I think it is useful to begin our consideration of it by addressing that quality, its difficulty to readers from many quarters.

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turies, seems to be absolutely justified; while his noting of new techniques and machines that opened up forests and scrublands of Northern Europe to extensive agricultural development, the spread of the water mill from the sixth century, the heavy plough after the seventh, the three-field system after the eighth, new developments in breeding, shoeing and harnessing of horses after the ninth, the appearance of the windmill around 1200, and the development of new techniques in agriculture and new sources of animal and nonhuman power in general are medieval contributions worth being reminded of. And the application of machines from one economic activity to another, we are reminded, made the Europeans of the Middle Ages the most technologically developed people in the world.

There can be no doubt about the Christian character of the Europe of the Middle Ages. Peters surely does not neglect that, but he also succeeds in giving the reader a broader and, at the same time, deeper sense of what the Middle Ages were in and of themselves and what they have contributed to the contemporary world.

John E. Rexine
Colgate University

Maximos Holobolos in der Kirchenslavischen homiletischen Literatur. By Christian Hannick. Wiener Byzantinische Studien, vol. 14. Vienna, 1981. Pp. 439. Paper.

The core of the book under review is the study of a discovery: Christian Hannick has found and published the homily on the Annunciation by the thirteenth-century Byzantine writer Manuel-Maximos Holobolos. The Greek text of the homily is lost, but Hannick was able to identify its Church Slavonic version which he provided with a German *en face* translation (pp. 292-339) and a most useful word list (pp. 344-405). According to the author (p. 285), the Greek original was written in the 1260-1280s or between 1273 and 1283. The date around 1273 is quite plausible, since Holobolos mentions in his homily (1.564-67) the expectations that the Church will remain "peaceful" having overcome the schism ("razdelenie i raskol") and calmed the contention "kindled by the foreigners" ("ot ezyk v' žizaemu bran' "); possibly these words are an allusion to the disputes around the Council of Lyon.

Hannick has used six Slavonic manuscripts, the two earliest of which were written in the second half of the fourteenth century. That means that the homily was translated within a relatively short span of time (ca. 1280-1350) after its appearance. Since the Slavonic text of the homily is to be found in *panegiriki*, or homilies, Hannick concludes that it

belonged to a Byzantine homiliary, namely to the collection of the Studios monastery.

Hannick gives a detailed description of the Studios-homiliary in its Slavonic version (pp.83-255); he also emphasizes (pp. 52-54) the role played by the Studios monastery in the development of Slavic culture which explains, to some extent, the appearance of the Studios-collection within the corpus of medieval Slavic translation literature.

Hannick's work deserves praise for its meticulous erudition. In his description of the Studios homiliary, the author conveys information about both Greek and Slavonic manuscripts, tries to identify the authors of homilies in question and scrutinizes the authenticity of attribution in titles. In separate, short chapters he dwells on various problems of history, literature, codicology and linguistics. He even furnishes some Georgian parallels. His bibliographic notes are almost exhaustive. I could come up with only one suggestion: to p. 54, n. 51, add G.M. Prochorov, "Dioptra" Filippa Pustynnika — "Dušezritel'noe zerckalo." *Russkaja i gruzinskaja srednevekove literature* (Leningrad, 1979) 143-66.

So far so good. There is, however, one point that I cannot avoid discussing. Hannick does not tell us what his text is about, does not place it within the context of either Byzantine or Slavic literature. He gives Holobolos' biography (pp. 43-48), but he does not raise the question as to why a man of such a tragic destiny directed his efforts to the topic of the Annunciation. Was the homily utterly "innocuous," void of contemporary political allusions? Hannick himself seems not to think so, for he detects in it an allusion to the Turkish onslaughts (p. 48); and I have suggested above that another allusion, that to the Council of Lyon, may possibly be present in the text of the homily. The hint, I submit, is quite plausible since Holobolos' attitude toward Emperor Michael VIII's Union policy was hostile and resulted in his deposition and exile. Again, while analyzing the Slavonic version of the Studios homiliary, Hannick makes a number of ingenious observations concerning the Greek writers translated into Slavonic: we can see from his lists (pp. 260-79) that besides writers who lived in the Patristic Age and a small number of ninth- and tenth-century authors (I wonder why Patriarch Photios and Emperor Leo VI are listed [p. 267] among "poorly known" literati), only writers of the late period were used—the names of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, of the centuries when both political and cultural relations between Byzantium and the Slavs were particularly intensive (for instance, Mavropos, p. 78), are infrequent. Is it a random event, or a phenomenon that ought to be clarified or at least mentioned?

I know that it is unfair to blame a scholar for what is not done in his book. We should be grateful for what he has done. But I am afraid that the rejection of literature from a book on a literary text may be construed as a *prise de position*. At the very beginning of his preamble (p.9),

Hannick speaks of a new approach to the study of Slavonic translated texts, of a trend to create "a clavis or a history of literature." The clavis, in other words, the index of authors and titles, seems thus to be equated with the history of literature; there may be a legion of Byzantinists to whom an index of authors, titles, manuscripts and scribes is ideal as a history of Byzantine literature; but this study is not the whole story.

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Neohellenic Theology at the Crossroads

PANAGIOTES K. CHRESTOU

AFTER A TEN-YEAR DESTRUCTIVE WAR, a tiny part of Greece was liberated from the Turkish occupation and was constituted into an independent small state in 1830.

The Bavarian government, which was established in Greece in the name of the young King Othon, detached the new state's dioceses from the jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate and proclaimed them to be an autocephalous church (1833). The members of the regency acted, of course, under the influence and with the cooperation of eminent members of the Greek intelligentsia, followers of the 'Parisian' enlightener Adamantios Koraes. The instigators of the autocephaly neither asked for the consent of the Patriarchate before taking action, nor did they notify the Patriarchate of what they were doing. They predicted that the Church of Greece, already free of all yokes, would advance to a new era of glory.¹

They felt even prouder four years after that event with the founding of the University of Athens, which included a school of theology, the first among all its schools. The university was patterned after the German educational system and replaced an entire system of higher education existing until then in the Greek world. As the instigators of autocephaly predicted again, a new era was anticipated for Greek theology. However, the opposite proved to be true.

During the last seventy years before the Greek Revolution (1750-1821), theological studies within the Greek world were in a rather satisfactory state, as was the case with all intellectual enterprises; they had reached a level of considerable progress. I shall illustrate this by presenting a few examples. Eugenios Vulgaris, who served as a professor in Ioannina and Mount Athos and as a prelate in Catherine the Great's Russia, had such a successful career in philosophy that he was mentioned with honor by

*The annual Father Georges Florovsky Lecture sponsored by the Orthodox Theological Society of America given at the Society's annual meeting held at Saint Vladimir's Seminary.

¹The situation changed in 1850 after the Church of Greece asked forgiveness when the Patriarchate issued the Tomos establishing the autocephaly of the Greek Church.

contemporary European scholars for his original thought.² His philosophical efforts aimed at finding convenient philosophical terms to formulate theological doctrines which were his main interest. He was also an erudite and sagacious editor of patristic texts, such as the writings of Theodoretos of Kyros and Joseph Bryennios, accompanied by thoughtful introductions and comments.

His colleague in both professions, Nikephoros Theotokes, was the editor of the ascetic writings of Isaak the Syrian, a unique edition considered valuable even today, as are those of *Vulgaris*. He had also enriched the library of Orthodox preachers with his precious *Kyriakodromion*, used by many even to this day and not only in Greek.

In a treatise written in 1775, Neophytos Kausokalybites, professor at the Academy of Mount Athos and the school at Jassy, developed the thesis that the writings preserved under the name of Makarios the Egyptian were of Massalian origin and, further, that they came from Symeon the Mesopotamian. Some critics were to express the same view after two centuries with the same argumentation and sometimes the same wording. Yet none of them mentioned its originator. It is not less surprising that another Athonite professor, Dorotheos Voulismas, in refuting Neophytos' theory, wrote his own treatise in which he argued that the writings were genuine, but had been subject to falsification by a Massalian hand.

What Nikodemos Hagiorites has offered to theological studies, with his monumental editions of the great patristic and canonical collections and his commentaries and his essays, is well known. Obviously, the Greek theologians of this period had the leading role in all the Orthodox world, and there was nothing in Western Europe of which they had to be jealous. They moved on a level equal to the European one of the same time and much higher than that of the post-revolutionary period in Greece. Moreover, it is impossible to state that the three greatest Greek theologians of the nineteenth century were trained and matured before the Greek Revolution, namely, Konstantinos Oikonomos, Theokletos Pharmakides and Neophytos Vamvas.

The blossoming of theological thinking was not an isolated episode; it kept pace with the general rise of education and learning among the Greeks at that time. Also, it was not unexpected; the preambles had appeared much earlier. However, there were then special conditions which facilitated it; the loosening of pressure after the serious weakening of Turkish power, the increase of the wealth of the Greek population, the opening of numerous Greek schools of higher education within the Ottoman Empire and outside, and the right use of West European methods

²Cf. T.B. Monboddo, *Origin and Progress of Language* (Edinburgh, 1773) 1, pp. 46; *Ancient Metaphysics* (London, 1779) 1, pp. 479; W. Hamilton, *Lectures in Metaphysics and Logics* (Edinburgh, 1860) 3, pp. 205.

in scholarly work. Another important factor, especially for the promotion of theological studies, was the greater accessibility of the writings of the Church Fathers after much extended editorial work had been done in the West. Consequently, Greek theologians were determined to participate in this field.

It is interesting to see that even those theologians who explicitly rejected any influence deriving from Western Europe essentially did not remain uninfluenced and, at any rate, succeeded to contribute generously to theological studies. In addition to Neophytos Kausokalybites and Nikodemos Hagiorites, already mentioned above, we find Athanasios Parios, Makarios Notaras and other distinguished individuals. But, of course, those who remained faithful to the tradition, at the same time profited widely from European thought and were able to contribute much more.

A curious lack of theological studies was observed after the Greek Revolution, belying all optimistic hopes. One would be deeply disappointed if one sought to find out who were the theologians produced from mid-nineteenth to early twentieth century. If the value of a literary contribution is measured by how long it continues to be read, then their contribution was meager, since no one today uses their writings—with few exceptions—while many are those who still utilize the works of the pre-revolutionary theologians.

It is true that some worthwhile commentaries were produced in the exegetical field, namely by Nicholas Damalas and Emmanuel Zolotas. But, on the other hand, it does no honor to Greek theological scholarship to note that it has not, to this day, been able to prepare a full series of commentaries of the New Testament, not to speak of the whole Bible. The only full commentary of the New Testament has come from outside of 'official' theology—from Apostolos Makrakes. This weakness is obviously due to the fact that all those German-educated theologians, though they used German methodology, were not, at the same time, willing to accept the content of Protestant interpretation. As a result, they remained hesitant, or preferred to keep silent. The principles of an Orthodox hermeneutics were to be used with clearness and exactness only forty-five years ago by Evangelos Antoniadis and Vasileios Vellas.

The contribution in the historical field was limited to a couple of handbooks of church history, written by Diomedes Kyriakos and Philaretos Vapheides, both in three volumes. They present a good examination of the particular historical facts, but do not show a universal insight into the field. The shorter handbook of Vasileios Stephanides, written later, is of better quality, but its point of view is even more Westernizing.

The handbooks of patrology by Konstantinos Kontogones and Georgios Dervos, which very characteristically extend only to the limits defined by the Protestants of their time, i.e., the third and fourth cen-

turies, are based on a careful analysis of the texts. Though both of them had studied the Fathers carefully, they looked at the texts with the eyes of Lutheran Germany. The concise handbook of Demetrios Balanos, distinguished by its clarity and dryness, lacks any kind of penetration into the spirit of the Fathers.

The dogmatic handbooks of this period are certainly not so negligible, but they also closely follow foreign patterns. Zekos Rosses, besides his incomplete handbook, left an excellent essay on the essence of Christian dogma with which he answered the Modernists. By combining ethos and dogma, he showed the right way for a useful exploitation of the patristic tradition. Christos Androutsos applied all his ingenuity into concise and well-written handbooks of dogmatics, symbolics and ethics which are still read by many.

Indeed, this is a period of handbook theology, of pamphlets and of panegyrics, especially of sermons on the Three Hierarchs. However, handbooks, as good as they may be, are restricted within close frameworks and do not allow enough room for developing original thought.

There were other factors which prevented theology from its ascending course in a period when general conditions seemed to be rather favorable for that purpose. One could suspect an external factor: the severe shock suffered by Christianity from the attacks of Enlightenment, the French Revolution and positivism. But in the West, instead of decay, these factors caused a reconstruction and renewal of theology. Even Russian theology seemed to have been favorably influenced by them. Up to the beginning of the nineteenth century, Russian theology was still fed by Greek theology and was not able to produce anything more than handbooks, polemical treatises, popular pamphlets and translations. Afterwards, with the help also of the educational reformation of 1814, a genuine vitality was observed. Neohellenic theology may have been indirectly influenced by that factor, but the reasons for its stagnation are basically internal.

As a first cause for this phenomenon, I would mention the cultural dichotomy which created two centers within the Greek world: Constantinople and Athens. One could say that the rise of this second center was inevitable after the establishment of an independent Greek state. But, in reality, the split existed even before the Greek Revolution, with the difference that the second center was Paris instead of Athens. The real creator of this center, Adamantios Koraes, called Paris 'New Athens.' He was the promoter of the idea of the priority of Athens and called himself 'Philathenaios.'³

Adamantios Koraes had started his career suffering from a complex of

³ *Letter to Neophytos Vamvas*, 21 November 1816.

personal and national inferiority. He succeeded in overcoming this inferiority by enormous effort and became one of the most distinguished figures of Neohellenism. But his inferiority complex had left some faint traces on his personality, as well as on Neohellenic history. Behind his failure in all endeavors during the first period of his life, both professional and scholarly, we discern a lack of confidence in his own abilities; and behind his opinion about the 'Wise Europe' as the ideal, pattern and source for the regeneration of Greece, we discern a lack of confidence in his nation's capacities.

He made his first acquaintance with Europe in the person of the Calvinist chaplain of the Dutch consulate in Smyrna, Bernard Keun, his teacher in Latin. He remained his devoted pupil thereafter. The second man who initiated him into Europe was another Calvinist clergyman, Hadrian Buurt, whose lectures he also attended in Amsterdam. It was their Calvinist doctrines which he had in mind when he wrote both his first work, *Catechesis* (1783), and his last one, *Synekdemos* (1833). As a result, he alienated himself completely from Orthodoxy, especially from its liturgical life and its administrative structure. He was, however, not ready to accept Calvinism because then he would have cut all links with his country which was not his intention. Consequently, he restricted Christianity to a corner of his mind to a system of moral and social behavior.

His admiration for Europe increased after he had come into closer contact with the achievements of science, as well as the refined ways of life in Montpellier and Paris. From that time he formed the opinion that nothing good could come forth from the Greek nation, finding itself in such a bad plight. He expected everything good to come from Europe—a wise and civilized Europe. The Greek nation, he believed, should empty its baskets and come to Europe seeking new goods. This is the mentality of the poor immigrant in a great, rich and advanced country.

In order to be prepared for these provisions, the Greek nation was counseled to abandon all hope in its religious and national leadership, i.e., the Patriarchate and ecclesiastical hierarchy, and cease all contact with tradition and with all persons and institutions related to that tradition. His hostile attitude toward Russia was mostly due to the fact that this country continued in the Byzantine tradition, at least to some degree. Yet Russia was the country from which Koraes derived the financial means to develop his literary and educational activities.

Koraes had constituted a kind of new 'patriarchate' in Paris, or rather a kind of anti-patriarchate. From that position he fought continually against the Patriarchate of Constantinople, either personally or through his followers. The Patriarchate, he advocated, should be abolished for two reasons: (1) because it maintained a hated tradition, the Byzantine; and (2) because it was situated in the same city in which the Ottoman

tyrant resided and from whom it derived its power. Koraes was unwilling to accept any scholar or thinker who was connected with the Patriarchate. For this reason he ignored and neglected all Greek scholars of his time, as well as those of the recent past. Later, when he came to recognize some of them, they all happened to be members of his party and were his followers and admirers.

The dichotomy progressed dangerously to even another point. Influenced by political fanaticism in France, Koraes confused political and national issues. Therefore, he was ready to accept all the theses pronounced by European historians and statesmen concerning the course of history of the Greek nation. Religious and national oppositions to the Greeks had led the Europeans to draw a distinctive line between the ancient Greeks whom they admired and the Byzantine and modern Greeks whom they hated. They therefore declared that the seal was put on Greek history as early as the Battle of Chaironeia (338 B.C.) in which Philip of Macedonia defeated the Athenians. As far as Koraes was concerned, that battle had caused Greece to become permanently enslaved. In one of his pseudonymous pamphlets, whose authorship he later accepted, he wrote: "The nation is a corpse devoured by crows. The fatherland has died. Slavery has taken away not only half of its virtue, as the poet said, but the whole of it. This has been our picture ever since Philip trod upon us up to the year 1453. We have changed various sovereigns who were speechless and mindless."⁴ According to this view, the Macedonian and the Byzantine worlds lie outside the sphere of Hellenism and are ranked with that of the conquerors, the tyrants of Greece.

We notice here a historic change in the course of events, facilitated by the Romantic movement which demanded a return to remote heroic times. If the Romanticists of Western Europe, or the Slavophiles, went back to the Middle Ages in order to meet the roots of their nation, the archaiophiles of Greece could go back much further. There were many scholars and poets who did this. A great historian, Konstantine Paparregopoulos, was needed to change the course of the stream. It was only after his insistent emphasis on the unity of the history of the Greek nation through all ages, and particularly the contribution of Byzantium to Western civilization, that modern Greeks dared to deal with Byzantium. Yet for some time this was done timidly and, for the most part, independently from the course of Greek history. Prior to Paparregopoulos' time this was averted by 'Koraism.'

The movement initiated by Koraes naturally led to a morbid love for antiquity which was well advanced before the Revolution. Until that time, the ideals of Greek education were to be found within the framework of Hellenic-Christian culture accepted by practically all the

⁴Στοχασμοί Κρίτωνος, p. 5.

'Teachers of the Nation.' A characteristic expression of this ideal was the introduction of pictorial representations of ancient Greek wise men on frescoes placed in monastic churches of Greece and the Balkan countries.⁵ This ideal was then abandoned by some ardent antiquity lovers such as Theophilos Kaires. As early as 1817, in his capacity as dean of the school of Kydoniai in Asia Minor, Kaires had inspired such zeal in his students that they issued a proclamation, (the eighth day of the month of Elaphebolion) that they were determined to abandon the vernacular in favor of ancient Greek in conversing with one another. The students who signed the document had Christian names, such as Angelos, Demetrios, Theophilos, Basileios, etc., but changed them to the names of Alkibiades, Themistokles, Kleanthes, Agisilaos, etc., for the purpose of the proclamation.⁶ Kaires had composed hymns to be used in his secret religious society in the Doric dialect and, of course, in ancient meter. In some areas of Greece enthusiastic classicists searched through the pages of epic and tragic poetry to find sufficient ancient names to fill the demand for children needing to be baptized. In the same areas no Old Testament names were to be heard.

The separation of the Church of Greece from the Patriarchate in 1833 was a natural result of the struggle carried on by Koraes and his followers against the Patriarchate for so many years. At the start of the Revolution he wrote: "The clergy of the part of Greece liberated up to this time are not obliged to recognize the Patriarch of Constantinople as their ecclesiastical leader, as long as Constantinople continues to be polluted by the seat of the illegal tyrant."⁷

The separation, which coincided with the year of Koraes' death, was realized by his faithful friend Theokletos Pharmakides. The power to enact this program as a whole was given by the Bavarian government, which curiously enough assisted the Koraist party in detaching Greece from its roots and making it part of Western Europe, especially France. The followers of Koraes fought obstinately against the prudent and promising government of John Kapodistrias, who, after all, was Greek and Orthodox, because it was too Hellenic. Instead, they supported the government of the Bavarians because it was European and sought to destroy Greek tradition.

Through the use of an impressive illustration, Konstantinos Oikonomos accused the Bavarian government of using the Greek nation as "a palimpsest book," erasing every sacred element written upon it

⁵Katholikon of Philanthropenon Monastery, island of Ioannina; Chapel of Portaitissa of Iveron Monastery; Refectory of Great Lavra; Katholikon of Batskovo, Bulgaria; and the Katholika of a number of monasteries in Rumania.

⁶See P. Paschales, *Θεόφιλος Καΐρης* (Athens, 1928) p. 35.

⁷Aristotle, *Πολιτικῶν τὰ Σωζόμενα* (Paris, 1851) p. 41.

many ages ago and writing their own profane novelties.⁸ However, in this book, made partially a palimpsest even before the Revolution, positivism was indicated. Koraes had shaped the theory of metakenosis of which I hinted previously. The Greeks must empty their baskets with their useless content acquired during the time of Byzantium and the Ottomans and resort to Europe in order to fill them again with the new goods. Certain classes among the Greek people hurried to profit by this opportunity. This xenomania made Greece a poor satellite of European civilization. This was not so much an encounter with the West as a surrender to it.

Living for sixty-five years far from Greece, Koraes was not able to understand that at that time there was in Europe not only one civilization, but two. First, there was the civilization of the West, rationalistic and Faustian, which has led to our contemporary, insatiable, technological society; and there was, second, a Greek Orthodox civilization, essentially independent and self-sufficient. Therefore, having their own culture, the Greeks did not need to accept a foreign one. What they needed was to cultivate and develop elements of their own culture. To that end, they could and should have profited from any useful influence from the West; but they were also in a position to offer rudiments of their own as they had already done not long before then in the age of the Renaissance. The Koraists failed also to understand that a dynamic tradition that succeeded in surviving for centuries Turkish outrages could not be uprooted through a few decrees issued by foreign governors and by some articles of xenomaniac scholars. A tradition can be enriched or changed, but never abolished.

Such sentiments were alien to the feelings of the Greek people who remained faithful to their traditions. These sentiments were best expressed in a lively way by a popular hero and veteran of the Revolution, General Makrygiannes, when he commented on the action taken against tradition and the abolition of monasteries. The Bavarians and their political and ecclesiastical collaborators had, according to Makrygiannes, "completely abolished the monasteries and expelled the unfortunate monks who had suffered so much during the national struggle and were dying on the streets. The monasteries were the ramparts of our revolution.... They destroyed and desolated all churches of monasteries."⁹

It is easy now for everyone to understand that the ecclesiastical vocation and theological profession had little attraction for young people, and the few that happened to occupy themselves with them would always be faced with dilemmas. Additional reasons for this decay are related to the restrictions and narrowness caused by the Greek Revolution and its effects on the entire educational and scholarly movement.

⁸Τά Σωζόμενα Ἑκκλησιαστικά 3, pp. 215.

⁹Τά Ἀπομνημονεύματα, p. 302.

Circumstances compelled all educators and scholars to interrupt their activities for ten years until peace was finally realized in 1830. This fact was in itself a serious negative element for theological progress, but became more serious when added to other conditions that were to prevail on the Greek scene. Some of the scholars had died during the war, others became too old, and still others were unable for one reason or another to resume their activities.¹⁰ The new generation, which was to replace the older one in this area, had been lost in the field of battle. If one takes into consideration that almost all the students of the Greek colleges of Bucharest and Jassy were exterminated in one battle, that of Dragatsani, one will understand what happened on a general scale. Consequently, there was no new scholarly generation to succeed the older one when the new state was established, as there was no educational substructure. The latter, however, could only be created on the territory of Greece. The Turkish government, having realized that the burden of the Revolution in the Danubian area, as well as elsewhere, had been borne to a large extent by students, was not willing to permit such activities on its territory.

The mentality prevailing in the Greek world after the Revolution reminds us of the conditions which led to the separation of the Greek Church from the Patriarchate. Two almost counterbalancing powers were in operation from that time on, which I shall call 'Helladism' and 'Hellenism.' The Revolution of 1821 was designed and realized by ardent and genuine patriots. They probably had not overestimated the fighting power of the nation, but they certainly had overestimated the readiness to react on the part of the Holy Alliance, i.e., the four world powers of the time: Austria, Russia, England and France. It was the unshaken faith and the heroic spirit of a small nation, enslaved for centuries with no military organization and heavy weapons, that enabled it to endure the pressure of not one, but many empires and to continue the struggle for so many years.

At any rate, the results of this struggle were meager, thanks to the will of the great powers. Two provinces in the south of Greece, Peloponnesos and Sterea Hellas, including a few islands, constituted the new state. In the year 1821, the Greeks delivered an empire only to give birth to a principality. Their commonwealth extended over all the Mediterranean shores, Asia Minor, the Balkans and even the Danube. It had its own religious institutions, spiritual activities, educational system, financial resources and social welfare. It had everything except political power and authority and this was its primary goal. On the other hand, the principality they received did possess political authority, although this was often obscure and there was much to be striven for. In at least twenty cities in mainland Greece, as well as beyond the Aegean, the Adriatic and

¹⁰Cf. G. P. Henderson, *The Revival of Greek Thought* (Albany, 1970) p. 204f.

the Danube, there were flourishing university centers. All of these centers were now substituted by one single center, Athens, which had to start from the beginning. The people living outside the borders of the Greek state thought it useless to be engaged in educational projects independent from the national center of Athens, even though this was allowed by external factors. All responsibilities had been by then transferred to that center, though it did not always meet expectations.

Through some of its actions the center, Athens, turned its back on the 'empire.' It excluded all Orthodox living outside its realm from its interest; it excluded from public positions all citizens coming from outside its realm. Athens rejected the idea of an 'empire' and the idea of a 'nation' for the sake of the 'state.' A short time thereafter, dispositions changed to some degree after the formation of the Μεγάλη 'Ιδέα (the Great Idea), but the tendency to have all activities concentrated in Athens remained. Greece's responsibilities were great with limited means at its disposal. It sometimes advanced; but the more 'Helladism' increased, the more 'Hellenism' decreased.

Consequently, the center was unable to accomplish its great tasks and became incapacitated by using methods foreign to Greek tradition. Such was the case of the Theological School of Athens. This was another reason for the decay of theological learning. In pre-revolutionary Greece, at least forty professors taught theology in upper level schools. All these institutions were then degraded and became high schools. The University of Athens' School of Theology became the sole theological school in the entire Greek world, while those that were established afterwards were considered to be lower seminaries. At its opening, the Athens School of Theology found itself with only three professors, and this number was not to be increased for several decades. In reality, the number was even lower, since one of them, Theokletos Pharmakides, never taught a course, occupied as he was with the duties of the Secretary to the Holy Synod, and was probably reluctant to face students who rejected his ecclesiastical policy. The second professor, Misael Apostolides, also did not teach regularly, having involved himself in church affairs and later having become Metropolitan of Athens. As a result, the burden was put on the shoulders of the twenty-five-year-old professor, Konstantinos Kontogones. The Athenians of that time joked about this situation, given the fact that Kontogones was lame. They used to say, "The School of Theology is supported by only one leg."

The school introduced a program with its scholastic structure as found in German Protestant institutions. Theology was fractured into scholarly branches, distinctly separated so that one was unable to communicate easily with the others. This is what underlies the prevalence of handbook theology.

The measure of the people's estimation of the Theological School of

Athens was given in 1852 by Apostolides, President of the University, who complained that its students, fifteen years after its establishment, numbered only seven. Today the number of theological students is about eight hundred.

The Patriarchal Theological School of Chalke, established a short time later in 1844, could not offer much to theological scholarship because it followed exactly the same program. However, being affiliated with the Ecumenical Patriarchate and providing a seminary type of life, it gave the Orthodox Church many good prelates and priests. The same could be said about the Holy Cross School of Jerusalem which functioned for about fifty years with some interruptions (1855-1909). The fact that men like Meletios Metaxakes, and theologians yet to be mentioned, came forth from this school shows that it had a dynamism even though its material means were limited. Rizarios Ecclesiastical School was the only institution in Greece which became a real nursery for theologians adequately trained because of its sufficient financial means, administrative autonomy and dormitory facilities. However, since Rizarios was established immediately after the Theological School of Athens (1844), it was not permitted to develop into a university and was confined to a junior college. In spite of this, graduates of the School of Athens who produced notable theological activity were, for the most part, graduates of the Rizarios School.

AS PREVIOUSLY INDICATED, few theologians survived the Revolution. Most of those who did settled in Athens and, of course, were isolated into two parties, namely, the Koraists under Theokletos Pharmakides and Neophytos Vamvas, and the Traditionalists under Konstantinos Oikonomos. Setting aside all other peculiarities, I will limit myself to characterizing the members of the first part as Protestantizers. Tradition and the liturgical life did not present any interest for the members of this party either in theory or in practice. For them, Christianity was a religion of moral and social standards as formulated in the Bible. It is not surprising, therefore, that the translation of the Bible into modern Greek came forth from this group; a translation made on the basis of the text not accepted by the Orthodox Church, but by Protestant churches. Furthermore, having in mind the church structure in Germany and England, they advanced a Caesaro-papist theory with regard to the system of church administration; and they subjected the Church to the state, making it one of their institutions. Russia, under Peter the Great, had done the same thing a hundred years earlier. This was the only element of Russian church life that the members of this group approved and of which they constantly reminded their opponents.

Konstantinos Oikonomos was, on the contrary, a supporter of the en-

tire ecclesiastical tradition in all of its expressions. Contrary to the belief of some, he certainly was not an obscurantist. As a professor in Smyrna before the Revolution, he presented plays on the stage, including a comedy of Molière which he had translated himself even though he was already a clergyman. However, he lived by the dogmas of the Church, the doctrines of the Fathers, the hymns of the services and, of course, the Bible. He spent much ink on all of these subjects and devoted brilliant pages to them.

In the meantime, the younger academic theologians who were trained were undecided and found it difficult to follow the steps of either party. Between the radicalism of Pharmakides, who enjoyed the favor of the government for some time, and the traditionalism of Oikonomos, they were unable to discern the identity of Orthodoxy. Usually silent, the Patriarchate in this instance reacted vigorously to the activities of the radicals, lending support to Oikonomos. The reaction was not so much against novelty as against the attempt to change the faith of the Greek people and forcibly alter their religious institutions. There was nothing liberal in that attempt, since the greatest part of the people obviously rejected all these measures.

Nothing is as alien to the truth as to condemn the Patriarchate of Constantinople for obscurantism, as some critics have done. As a church it was rather progressive, but within the permissible lines of a religious institution. An organized and admirable education system developed—one of the best in all of Europe at the time, and one which offered its people all the spiritual and cultural assistance allowed by prevailing conditions then. The actions of the Patriarchate must always be examined under the light of religious and national pursuits which require a balance between conservatism and progress.

I shall mention here one well-known and still impressive example. By the decision of three patriarchs, the Patriarchate had licensed the translation of the Bible into modern Greek. The translation was produced by a member of the hierarchy, Hilarion of Tirnovo in Bulgaria, who used a more popular linguistic form than the archaic idiom used by Vamvas in his translation published by the Bible Society. If later the Patriarchate banned Vamvas' translation, this was due to the fact that Vamvas and the Bible Society had not based their work on the canon of the Orthodox Church, but on the Protestant canon, and also because they refused to include the ancient text in parallel columns. These were the two main reasons why the Bible Society abandoned Hilarion's translation. Obviously, the Bible Society, in cooperation with the party of Pharmakides and Vamvas, aimed at substituting the Protestant Bible for that of the Orthodox Church. There was also another reason for banning this translation, which was published in Malta, as well as translations in other Balkan languages which were encouraged by the Patriarchate. The trans-

lated Bible was accompanied by the free distribution of Protestant proselytizing literature. I need not comment further concerning the propagandistic activities of the agents of the Bible Society among the Balkan people and their attempts to detach the people from the Ecumenical Patriarchate.

The members of the anti-Patriarchal party presented their goals to the Greek people under the slogan: 'A new Church, new Bible, new institutions.' The Protestant missionaries brought the same message to other Orthodox people, harassed as they were by tyranny as bad as that suffered by the Greeks.

Facing such a situation, the Patriarchate issued an encyclical in 1836¹¹ condemning the founders of the Protestant heresies, as well as the multitudes of heterodox and mercenary compatriots, and at the same time rejecting their translations. Twelve years later in 1848, the four patriarchs of the East¹² issued the encyclical against the Roman Catholic Church in response to one issued by Pope Pius IX of the same year.¹³

It was, indeed, very difficult for a young Orthodox theologian to choose between the position taken by the Patriarchate on the one hand, and the disfavor of the state on the other. Consequently, many of them remained silent.

The practice of those who pursued an academic career by continuing their studies in German universities was no small obstacle to theological development. In fact, all those who were appointed professors at the Theological School of Athens during the first hundred years of its life had attended post-graduate courses exclusively in Germany, with the exception of only two who had studied in Russia, namely in Petrograd, Russia. This phenomenon would not be negative in itself; it could even be beneficial under some terms, given the superiority of German theology throughout the nineteenth century. However, if all Orthodox theological professors of Greece did their post-graduate studies in Protestant schools and this practice continued for more than a hundred years, things could become one-sided.

Some years ago I noted: Greek theology, since its new formation in the beginning of the nineteenth century, was entangled by a tragic adventure. Its heart was rooted in Orthodoxy, its mind was fed by Protestantism, and its argumentation derived from scholasticism. For this reason it did not succeed in becoming autonomous.¹⁴ This condition removed any disposition for serious theologizing; and all theologians were limited to

¹¹Under Patriarch Gregorios VI.

¹²Anthimos of Constantinople, Hierotheos II of Alexandria, Methodios of Antioch, Kyrillos II of Jerusalem.

¹³*In Suprema Petri Apostoli Sede*, 6 January 1848.

¹⁴Κληρονομία 1 (1969), preface for the edition.

composing handbooks and panegyries.

It is, therefore, natural that the vacuum created would be occupied by popular theology, explicitly moving against academic theology. The great popular theologians, using the squares of cities and villages as lecturing places, had such large audiences that the academic theologians became envious. It was from the ranks of the popular theologians that the only full Greek theological system, as well as a complete interpretation of the New Testament by Apostolos Makrakes, came forth in the last century.

Apostolos Makrakes (1831-1905) was a phenomenon contemporary and parallel to the Slavophile movement, but certainly different and independent from it. He had not studied at the University of Athens, but at the School of the Nation (Genous) in Constantinople, a remnant of the pre-revolutionary higher education system. He used to call the university 'Panskotisterion' (literally, 'all-obscurity') instead of 'Panepistemion' ('all-sciences'). Having started from the squares of Athens with thousands of listeners and admirers, Makrakes finally established his own school, The School of the Word. Prophetic and theocratic in tendency, he imprinted all his ingenuity and peculiarities on a great number of vigorous writings. His best work is probably his commentary on the New Testament totaling about 3,000 pages. Certainly, he exhausted his great powers in many and aimless fights. If he were somewhat more moderate, he would have had greater success, but then he would not have been Makrakes. At any rate, he is the man who contributed directly or indirectly more than any other person to the maturing of religious consciousness in modern Greece.

Thereafter, Makrakes' popular theology followed two directions: 'apologetic' and 'pietistic.' The 'apologetic' was best represented by two brilliant lawyers, John Skaltsounes and Michael Galanos. The second, the 'pietistic,' became the origin of various Christian organizations, a characteristic feature of the Church of Greece in our age. The 'pietistic' organizations conducted an uninterrupted war against heresies, the ecumenical movement, secularization, Western culture, the sins of the prelates of the Church, and instructed masses of people along these lines up to our day when they have begun to lose sight of their identity.

I DO NOT THINK IT STRANGE that the way for true renewal in Neohellenic theology was shown only by two men who happened to study not in Germany, but in Russia after they had graduated from the Holy Cross School of Jerusalem. They were Chrysostomos Papadopoulos and Gregorios Papamichael, both professors at the Theological School of Athens and close friends. The first was a historian who searched through all the facets of Christian life from its beginning up to the present and

who, with his voluminous literary production, demonstrated the unity of Orthodoxy in all of its variety. As archbishop of Athens (1922-38), he endowed the Church with its basic institutions. Gregorios Papamichael was responsible for resurrecting and placing in their proper places two almost forgotten great personalities of Orthodoxy: Gregorios Palamas and Maximos (Trivolis) the Greek. Furthermore, he examined diligently various cultural aspects of church life. Both of them are rightly credited for establishing the two basic academic journals of Neohellenic theology: *Theologia* and *Ekklesia*.

Something which these two great scholars lacked was provided by Nikolaos Louvares, a German trained theologian. He might have started from the wrong vantage point, but he later found the right way. He stressed both the need for a nostalgic tour through places containing signs of the sacred, and the need for a turn to our inner self where the human spirit meets with the divine spirit.

Theological thought began to revive around these men who were joined by E. Antoniadēs, K. Dyovouniotes, H. Alivizatos, P. Bratsiotes, V. Vellas, V. Stephanides, G. Soteriou, P. Trempelas, V. Ioannides, G. Konidares, K. Bones, L. Philippides and others. Their occupation with the serious study of the history of the Orthodox Church led them to seek the identity of Orthodoxy.

After the Second World War, Neohellenic theology undertook a successful, ascending road. My own professor of patristics in Athens, Demetrios Balanos, the principal representative of the dry, rationalistic method, wrote the following concerning Symeon the New Theologian in his last book published in 1951: "With his morbid mysticism, which otherwise was fashionable in that time, he became a forerunner of the hesychasts of the fourteenth century."¹⁵ All the narrow-mindedness of Neohellenic rationalistic theology is contained within this short sentence. However, it was, at the same time, its swan-song. In the same year I happened to publish my first book in which I described Ignatios of Antioch's teaching concerning his endeavors to come into union with God in order to attain the new and true life.¹⁶

IN OUR AGE of unprecedented material and technological transformations, theological thinking is often confused and hesitant. Neohellenic theology has already made a new start, believing that a renovaton is indispensable if it is to continue its dialogue and contact with modern man. Faculty members of the theological schools of Athens; Thessalonike (founded in 1941); Brookline, Massachusetts (founded in 1937); and of Chalke, presently shut down, as well as other theologians, are partici-

¹⁵Βυζαντινοί Ἐκκλησιαστικοί Συγγραφεῖς (Athens, 1951) p. 87.

¹⁶Ζωή Ἀληθινή κατὰ τὴν Διδασκαλίαν Ἰγνατίου τοῦ Θεοφόρου (Athens, 1951).

pating in this movement.

At present, one observes many tendencies which one can describe as 'political theology.' Although this theology looks new because it keeps pace with political movements of new formation and totalitarian pursuits, in reality it constitutes a survival of older tendencies. Basically, its members declare their faithfulness to the alleged political message of the New Testament interpreted with sociological criteria in a one-sided manner, exalting the moral aspect of Christian preaching while accepting the subjection of the church to the state.

The tendency of turning to patristic sources is stronger today. Those who follow this trend believe that no renewal is possible or allowable that permits the removal of the foundation of theology which is God's revelation to the world, Christ's epiphany on earth and man's transfiguration. No theological system of any kind can exist without the Fathers; for in Christianity the Fathers occupy a particular position because it is by them, and especially by the earlier ones, that the foundations of the Church were laid. They are responsible for the organizational structure of the Church, its forms of worship, its Creed and its rule of life. This is tradition in its deepest meaning. The spirit of the Fathers has a beneficial and positive influence on the renewal of Orthodox theology, as well as on Orthodox life. Their testimony is manifested in both their word and their life. Tradition is always unfolded within the organism of the Church as a form of life, and the threads of tradition are moved by the Fathers. Whenever Orthodox theology sinks its roots into the source of tradition, it acquires new life. By doing so, Neohellenic theology gets on an ascending course. For this reason, new studies of dogmatics present richer fruits. The Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies in Thessalonike is a bearer of this tendency, expressed through careful research in patristic texts, and other manifestations of patristic life expressed through its publications, including the journal *Kleronomia*.

Between these two tendencies, but much closer to the second, neopatristic and a new, vigorously popular theology are moving, abundantly watered by the springs of patristic wisdom. After much searching, this theology has found a vehicle of expression in the pages of the journal *Synaxis*. In addition, with its frequent references to the social and philosophical dimensions of religion, as well as to the thought of the Church Fathers, the excellent journal *Epophteia*, which gives a living picture of the movement of ideas both in the past and in the present, constitutes a bridge between philosophy and theology.

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PLICIT wording of Theophanes (“...ἡρεατο...λόγον ποιῆσθαι...”). I am returning to this point in a manuscript on iconoclasm and the icons to be published soon. But these are, indeed, minor points, and those who find them crucial will have to use the original. Perhaps my most serious criticism is that, notwithstanding the good reason that the translator gives that there are better accounts for the period 284-602 which he has omitted from this volume, and that for this period the *Chronographia* is “unexciting to read and largely derived from previous sources” (p. xiv), the fact remains that, by having left this period out, this particular edition does not make for a complete presentation of Theophanes.

Nevertheless, with this translation Theophanes becomes alive and enters, even belatedly, the Western scholarship of our times. Thus, there is no more excuse for historians and students of the Byzantine era to ignore him. Church historians in particular, who have treated the mediaeval period of church history as an exclusively Latin, or Western pre-Reformation phenomenon, might have difficulty in defending their objectivity and comprehensiveness with Theophanes available now in English. Students also of the history of the Muslim-Christian relations will now have to take into serious account the relations between Islam and Eastern Christendom and revise long standing inaccuracies and platitudes about this so little known side, which poses a characteristically different phenomenon of inter-faith relations than those between Islam and mediaeval Western Christendom. With this translation the student of history is enabled to come into contact with a contemporary source, conveniently and beautifully presented to him, an invaluable experience in itself. Back to the sources! The best service that one can render to scholarship.

Daniel Sahas
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Orthodoxy and Papism, By Archimandrite Chrysostomos. Eetna, California: Center for Traditionalist Orthodox Studies, 1983. Pp. 82. \$4.50 paper.

This small volume is the first publication of the Center for Traditionalist Orthodox Studies, a study and publication program of the Saint Gregory Palamas Monastery (which recently moved from Ohio and relocated in California). Its author, Archimandrite Chrysostomos, Abbot of the monastery and director of the center, has gained much attention for his articulate, common-sense approach to the problem of Orthodoxy in the contemporary world, an approach articulated in a

number of books and articles within the past five years or so.

Father Chrysostomos is perhaps the most academically qualified spokesman for the small number of Greek Orthodox who adhere to the Julian (Old) Calendar in America. His writings and views show and uncompromising dedication to what these Orthodox zealots call 'traditionalism.' And while this witness has at times become rather absurd, immoderate, and extreme in some circles, Father Chrysostomos has remained a sober, moderate, unpolemical, and brilliant spokesman for these traditionalists. Tempering his strong traditionalism with an awareness of the oneness of Orthodoxy, he has provided all of us with some stark and admirable standards against which to measure our spiritual and theological laxity. He has done this with charity and an obviously sincere concern for all Orthodox Christians.

The present book perfectly expresses the value of a witness like that of Father Chrysostomos. To his translation of the sometimes venomous and stikingly blunt essay on Roman Catholicism by the eminent Greek iconographer, Photios Kontoglou, Father Chrysostomos appends his own assessment of the historical road that led to the separation of the two Churches. Whereas Kontoglou, in his "What Orthodoxy Is and What Papism Is," relentlessly assails the Latin mentality, Father Chrysostomos points out that much that happened in the West happened because of historical realities that separated Christians in the West from their Byzantine roots—being more victims than villains.

What this book does so beautifully is this: it leaves, through Kontoglou's harsh words, no doubt that there is far more to be resolved in the Orthodox-Roman Catholic debate than many modern ecumenists would wish to believe. It leaves us with some sober views of how far the East is from the West. But also, through Father Chrysostomos' words, the book calls the West to a deeper understanding of its past, in an historical and theological comparison of the Eastern and Western traditions that is simple, compelling, and inviting. In short, he has produced a good missionary work—a truly ecumenical call from the Mother Church of Christianity to its ecclesiastical children.

A book which is both a jibe and an invitation is a real accomplishment. Father Chrysostomos' book is just that: an accomplishment. This is an important work by an increasingly important Orthodox thinker.

Thomas C. Brecht
Birmingham, Alabama

The De Anima of Alexander of Aphrodisias: A Translation and Commentary. By Athanasios P. Fotinis. University Press of America, 1979. Pp. iv + 344.

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PARTICIPATION IN THE MYSTERY OF THE CHURCH

Theodor Nikolaou

THE SUBJECT OF 'PARTICIPATION in the Mystery of the Church' was suggested by the Inter-Orthodox Theological Preparatory Commission to the corresponding Commission of the Lutheran World Federation for the official Orthodox-Lutheran Theological Dialogue. The present survey and analysis of material from the theological discussions between representatives of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople and the Evangelical Church in Germany, originated in a resolution passed by the Inter-Orthodox Preparatory Commission at its third and last meeting from 6-13 September 1980 in Skalholt, Iceland.¹ It was presented for discussion to the official Joint Pan-Orthodox—Pan-Lutheran Theological Commission at its first meeting in Espoo/Helsinki, 27 August-4 September 1981. This meeting of both Theological Commissions, in which especially the further proceeding was planned together, means the beginning of the official Orthodox-Lutheran Theological Dialogue.

This paper, then, is based on theological talks between delegations of the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Evangelical Church in Germany. It should, accordingly, be briefly recalled that sofar, five such meetings have been held: The first 16-19 March 1969 in Constantinople;² the second, 4-8 October 1971 in Arnoldshain;³ the third, 2-5 October 1973 in Chambesy, Switzerland;⁴ the fourth, 6-9 October 1975 in Friedewald;⁵ the fifth, 20-24 February 1978 in Bonn-Beuel.⁶

¹Cf the report on the Skalholt meeting in: *Episkepsis*, No 238 (1/10/1980), p 5

²"Dialogue des Glaubens und der Liebe," *Beiheft zur Okumenischen Rundschau*, No 11 (Stuttgart, 1970); henceforth cited as No. 1.

³See "Christus—das Heil der Welt," *Beiheft zur Okumenischen Rundschau*, No. 22 (Stuttgart, 1972); henceforth cited as No. 2.

⁴See "Das Bild vom Menschen in Orthodoxie und Protestantismus," *Beiheft zur Okumenischen Rundschau*, No. 22 (Stuttgart, 1972); henceforth cited as No. 2.

⁵See "Die Anrufung des Heiligen Geistes im Abendmahl," *Beiheft zur Okumenischen Rundschau*, No 31, (Frankfurt, 1977); henceforth cited as No. 4

⁶See "Eucharistie und Priesteramt," *Beiheft zur Okumenischen Rundschau*, No. 38 (Frankfurt, 1980); henceforth cited as No. 5.

In order to survey the theme methodically, it is reviewed here under those aspects which were laid down by the Inter-Orthodox Preparatory Commission as sub-themes, with the first sub-theme, "The Nature of the Church," treated in rather more detail than the others because of its fundamental importance. A few considerations on the relation of the bilateral theological conversations to the forthcoming theological dialogue are, however, presented first.

The Bilateral Theological Talks and the Official Theological Dialogue

THE COURSE OF THESE CONVERSATIONS was marked throughout by the question of the value and sense of a dialogue between an autocephalous Orthodox Church and the Evangelical Church in Germany. From the start, on the part of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, there was a very perceptible tendency not really to engage in a dialogue between two "local churches," but rather . . . to insist on Pan-Orthodox—Pan-Lutheran discussions.⁷ This attitude of the Ecumenical Patriarchate is explained by the well-considered concept which the Orthodox Church had worked out at the four Pan-Orthodox Conferences (Rhodes 1961, Rhodes 1963, Rhodes 1964, and Chambesy-Geneva 1978), and the first Pre-Conciliar Conference (Chambesy-Geneva 1976). According to this, theological dialogue is pursued not by a part but by the whole Orthodox Church. It seems to me there is no need to document this in more detail, and it is probably sufficient to refer to the Resolutions of the Fourth Pan-Orthodox Conference of 1968, shortly before the start of conversations between the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Evangelical Church in Germany. These make it clear that a distinction is to be drawn between "mutual contacts" and "dialogues."⁸ We have to distinguish, in the terminology of Patriarch Athenagoras I, between the "dialogue of love" and the "dialogue of truth."⁹ The contacts and dialogue of love "between Orthodox and Lutherans" serve, according to the 1968 Resolutions, "to create good

⁷Bericht der drei Orthodoxie-Ausschüsse der Evangelical Church in Germany über die bilateralen theologischen Gespräche der Evangel Kirche in Deutschland in *Informationen aus der Orthodoxen Kirche*, ed. EKD Church Foreign Department (Frankfurt, 1980), Special Number 2, p. 7

⁸Cf. Communiqué 2, 5 in J. Karmiris, "The Fifth Pan-Orthodox Conference" [separate print from *Ekklesia*] (Athens, 1968) p. 45 (in Greek). This study deals with the Fourth Pan-Orthodox Conference.

⁹The use of the words in the title of the account of the first of the theological talks "Dialogue of Faith and Love," must accordingly be regarded as inappropriate. The fact that the titles of three of the four papers read refer to pneumatology (No. 1, p. 3), as well as the statements of Metropolitan Chrysostomos Konstantinides (No. 1, p. 53), show that pneumatology was the real subject of the first conversations, if this term is permissible in view of their oneness.

relations and therefore prepare for dialogue"; theological dialogue proper, however, that is, the dialogue of truth is "to be carried out between the Orthodox Church and the Lutheran World Federation."

In view of these Pan-Orthodox Resolutions, it is not difficult to understand why the initiatives of the Evangelical Church in Germany ran into difficulties from the very first meeting. Probably the most important of these difficulties, which also affects our forthcoming dialogue, lies in the question of the ecclesial character of the Evangelical Church in Germany and of the Lutheran World Federation.¹⁰ Among the theologians of the Ecumenical Patriarchate at the very first meeting, the Lutheran statement that "the Evangelical Church in Germany is more a Church than the Lutheran World Federation" (No. 1, p. 54) caused perplexity. The reaction on the part of the Orthodox was, therefore, that this was "particularly important" and that it was now a matter of "making clear who the Lutheran World Federation is and who the Evangelical Church in Germany is" (No. 1, p. 55). They probably assumed then (and perhaps still do so today), that the Lutheran World Federation is a sort of Lutheran Church on a worldwide scale. Since it is now intended to open the official Orthodox-Lutheran Dialogue with the subject of ecclesiology, it will certainly be easier to clear up this question.

At all events, it must be noted here that this question, in conjunction with the Pan-Orthodox Resolutions, continued to occupy the representatives of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in the conversations with the Evangelical Church in Germany. It also gave rise to some dissensions. There were long discussions, for example, whether the term "dialogue" could be used to describe the talks or not. The term "dialogue" was in fact preferred by the Evangelical Church in Germany representatives. Only on their insistence, and after the chairman of the Orthodox Commission had reported to Constantinople in this sense, did the Synod of the Ecumenical Patriarchate decide to name the conversations "*Bilateral Dialogue* between theologians of the two particular Churches, the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the German Evangelical Church."¹¹ That

¹⁰On the "ecclesial" character of the Lutheran World Federation, cf Th Nikolaou, "Der Lutherische Weltbund als Partner des Theologischen Dialogs mit der Orthodoxen Kirche," in *Almanach de rumanisch-orthodoxen Kapelle "Michael Stourdza" für das Jahr 1980*, ed St Alexe (Baden-Baden, 1980), pp 166-75, especially p 171. Idem "Preparation and Problems of the Official Theological Dialogue between the Orthodox Church and the Lutheran World Federation" *Apostolos Barnabas* (Nicosia, 1980), p 9, in Greek. A valuable study, in my opinion, on the ecclesiological question in regard to the Orthodox-Lutheran dialogue, is that of W Schneemelcher, "Est autem ecclesia congregatio sanctorum. Ekklesiologische Aspekte des lutherisch-orthodoxen Dialogs," *Kirche im Spannungsfeld der Politik. Festschrift für Bischof D. Hermann Kunst* (Göttingen, 1977), pp 235-48, especially pp 247-48. On ecclesiology in general from the Orthodox point of view, cf J Karmires, *Dogmatics Part 5, Orthodox Ecclesiology* (Athens, 1973), in Greek.

designation, too, must certainly be understood on a quite different plane from the forthcoming Orthodox-Lutheran theological dialogue.

This indicates the context of the refusal of the representatives of the Ecumenical Patriarchate to issue joint theological theses at the end of each meeting.¹² The fact that there are no theses, undoubtedly makes the analysis attempted here more difficult, and at the same time rather questionable. For to what extent can the statements of this or that theologian (Cf. e.g. No. 4, p. 163) be regarded as an apt expression of Orthodox or Lutheran teaching, as the case may be? What exactly is to be thought when even two Orthodox (Cf. No. 4, p. 30f.) or Evangelical theologians (Cf. No. 3, p. 94ff.) differ in the emphases they place? Possible theses would at least express the consensus of the theologians present.

The attitude of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in these talks was probably based on ecclesiological grounds, and is principally explained by its position in relation to other Orthodox Churches, as in fact the report of the three Evangelical Church in Germany-Orthodox Commissions¹³ observes: "Certainly the talks with Constantinople, because of the position occupied by the Ecumenical Patriarchate within Pan-Orthodoxy, also handicapped by considerably more problems than discussions with the Moscow Patriarchate."

Apart from these questions, however, a reading of the documents conveys the firm conviction of both Commissions that the contacts are theologically valuable and informative. This conviction is in fact repeatedly expressed. It is not surprising, therefore, that in the communique of the fifth meeting, the continuation of the bilateral dialogue is unreservedly approved, even though the official Orthodox-Lutheran Theological Dialogue had been inaugurated; the reasons which the communique gives are as follows: This bilateral dialogue should be continued "because it

¹¹Cf Letter of the Ecumenical Patriarch Demetrios to the Metropolitan of Germany, Ireneos, 14 May 1976, Prot No 329 "Διμερὴς διάλογος μεταξύ θεολόγων τῶν δυο ἐπιμερὸς Ἐκκλησιῶν, Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου καὶ Γερμανικῆς Εὐαγγελικῆς Ἐκκλησίας." It is true that "in the course of the conversation the word 'dialogue' was never expressly defined," K Chr Felmy, "Die orthodox-lutherische Gespräche in Europa Ein Überblick," *Okumenische Rundschau*, 29 (1980) 508, but the Pan-Orthodox resolutions of 1968 were also known to the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Germany representatives (cf No 1, p 53, note 1) For a more detailed history of the contacts between the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople and the Evangelical Church in Germany, cf A Baskedis, "Die Theologischen Gespräche zwischen der Evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland und der Orthodoxie," *Okumenische Rundschau*, 27 (1978), 223, and in particular 239

¹²At the third and fifth meetings only a communique was issued Whereas the latter was published in the corresponding report (No 5, p 31), the communique of the third meeting was inexplicitly not even mentioned, cf selections from the text in *Episkepsis* (No 86, October 16, 1973), p 9 Th Nikolaou, "Man According to the Teaching of the Orthodox and the Lutheran Church," *Gregorios Palamas*, 57 (1974), 134, in Greek

¹³In *Informationen aus der Orthodoxen Kirche*, Special Number 2, (1980), p 8

makes a significant contribution to a closer corporate life of Evangelical and Greek Orthodox Church congregations in the Federal Republic of Germany and to the coming dialogue between Orthodoxy and the Lutheran World Federation" (No. 5, p. 31; cf. No. 4, pp. 8,13; No. 5, pp. 7,16,62).

The Nature of the Church

IT IS FULLY IN ACCORD with Orthodox tradition if the nature of the Church is not stated in a definition (No. 2, pp. 73,80), but described in imagery. The basis of this lies in the Pauline idea of the Church as mystery (Eph 1.9; 3.9); consequently this is repeatedly mentioned by the Orthodox during the talks (Cf. No. 2, p. 116; No. 4, p. 30,164; No. 5, p. 132). As against this conception, the statements of the Confession of Augsburg VII are of great weight for the Lutherans: "It is also taught that a holy Christian Church must always exist and remain, which is the assembly of all believers among whom the Gospel is purely preached and the holy sacraments are administered in accordance with the Gospel" (No. 1, p. 20). Although these statements define the Church, and consequently form quite a different starting point from emphasis on the mysterious and mystical element of the Church, one notes, nevertheless, that they are, in fact, statements which also hold good for the Orthodox.

The declaration that the Church is the "assembly of all believers," is based on the conception delivered by Scripture and therefore held in common by the "community," *koinonia*, of all believers in Christ. Before anything further is quoted on the conception of the Church as community, it should be stressed that other traditional ideas and images also are referred to for preference by Orthodox, but also by Lutherans, to describe the Church: e.g. people of God (No. 2, p. 23; No. 3, pp. 7, 97), building (No. 1, p. 37), heavenly Jerusalem (No. 2, p. 95), bride of Christ (No. 2, p. 92; No. 3, p. 66).

Among such imagery, the Pauline idea of the Church as the body of Christ occupies a central place for theologians of both churches. The Church is "the charismatic body of Christ with many members" (No. 1, p. 44; cf. also No. 1, p. 33). Participation in the life of the Church is participation in the body of Christ (No. 2, p. 30f., 58; No. 5, p. 118). Christ is the head of the Church (No. 22, p. 70) and he himself rules "invisibly" (No. 2, p. 28). Precisely "the Orthodox understanding of the Church as a mystical body is beyond definition" (No. 2, p. 80), and is regarded as "the real nature of the Church" (No. 2, p. 66).

While the designation of the Church as the body of Christ is common to both traditions, it is, nevertheless, undeniable that the accents are differently placed when it comes to closer definition of the content of this name. With the Orthodox, the mystical-sacramental identification of the Church with Christ is preferred, and the Church is accordingly designated

as “sacramental body” (No 3, p 67) or as “theandric body” the Church is the living body of Christ. The God-manhood of Christ composes the form of the Church, the ontological law of its structure. “Christus totus in capite et in corpore” (No 2, p 38, cf No 5, p 49), from the conception of the Church “as incarnation of the Lord in the world and history” (No 2, p 31), flows the closest connection between Christology and ecclesiology (No 2, p 58) and the view that “according to Saint Paul, the christological and the ecclesiological body of Christ cannot be separated” (No 4, p 31). This interpretation, however, was answered by the Evangelical theologian, W. Schrage: “I would say that according to Paul there is partial identity (i.e. between Christology and ecclesiology) but only partial. For Paul it is completely inconceivable that there should no longer be the vis-a-vis of Christ and Church. Christ remains the vis-a-vis of the Church, hence the prepositions in the text quoted, which all refer to this vis-a-vis. We are also probably in agreement that there is no sharing in Christ without participation in the body of Christ in the sense of the Church. There is no private relation to Christ without membership of the body of Christ in the Church. But I could never agree that for Paul the two are simply identical, and I believe that you, too, cannot say that either. The very expression “soma en Christo” would be unintelligible if “soma” were one and the same as “Christos.” There must, therefore, be a distinction, even if “en Christo” with Paul is often the same as “en to somati Christou” (No 4, p 33, cf also the last thesis of that paper, p 67). He thus drew a distinction in Paul’s statements in a way which at first sight appears correct, yet which moved the Orthodox to counter: “You have said that Christ has a vis-a-vis in the Church. I do not believe that it is quite correct, because Christ is the head of the Church. It is quite difficult for a head to be a vis-a-vis” (No 4, p 36).¹⁴

The point at issue here is the mystery of the presence of Christ *in*, or the union of Christ *with* his Church. Even more particularly it is a question of participation by the faithful in the sacramental life of the Church, which is a participation in the life of Christ. This life begins through baptism, by which the baptized person is incorporated into the Church, is united to the Lord and “is one spirit with him” (1 Cor 6 17). This life finds its special expression in the celebration of the Eucharist. In this perspective it is understandable why the Orthodox prefer the rather static *Confessio Augustana* concept of “assembly,” the dynamic term “community,” *koinonia*. In this connection they tend to speak of “sacramental community,” (No 3, p 48ff) of the Eucharist which “creates the unity of the Church” (No 2, p 64). “This eucharistic community remains a mystery” (No 2, p 80), it is the mystery of the Church, which is identified

¹⁴Cf. Felmy’s answer p 35 as well as Schrage’s renewed answer pp 36-37.

with the "eucharistic assembly" (No. 4, p. 21) and "is manifested through the Eucharist" (No. 4, p. 152f.; No. 5, p. 164; cf. especially No. 4, p. 97: "The Eucharist is the synopsis of the divine economy, in which the constant presence of the mystery in the Church is guaranteed.")

It is noticeable in the discussions that the eucharistic ecclesiology is expressed as the special Orthodox concern. J. Zizioulas rightly states: "By this emphasis on the ecclesiological aspects, modern Orthodox theology has freed the Eucharist from its classical and medieval fixation in the dogmatic textbooks. The Eucharist is no longer a sacramental production or a consequence resulting from an organism called 'Church'... Because of the emphasis on its community character and ecclesiological significance, the Eucharist is now identical with the Church, or, to state it even more precisely, it is the expression of the Church in its entire fullness. Some Orthodox representatives of this line of thought even go so far as to say that the Eucharist constitutes the Church as Church ... We ought rather to understand ... the Eucharist as the expression of the fulfillment of the nature and meaning of the Church." (No. 4, p. 173; cf. also p. 178 and No. 5, p. 50ff.). Despite possible reserves which even Orthodox theologians of the eucharistic ecclesiology express particularly in view of the danger of "isolating" the local churches in self-sufficiency (No. 5, p. 56), in the Eucharist, "the saving events become a present reality for the worshipping Church by the power of the Holy Spirit . . . In the center is Jesus' death, which is the self-sacrifice of the one high priest. "The reason for the efficacy of the Eucharist lies in the power of the Spirit and in the promise of the living Christ to dwell in His Church as His body. The union of Church and Christ in the Eucharist may rightly be termed mystical in a truly Christian sense, for it transcends any humanly formal criterion. It is personal yet objective, real yet only knowable in faith" (No. 5, p. 56). In the Eucharist "the saving events become a present reality for the worshipping Church by the power of the Holy Spirit ... In the centre is Jesus' death, which is the self-sacrifice of the one high priest of the Church, offered for all" (No. 5, p. 54).

A particularly interesting reaction of an Evangelical theologian to the problems of the eucharistic ecclesiology ran: "If what Professor Zizioulas teaches about the Eucharist is the Orthodox doctrine, I could be an Orthodox myself, as far as the Eucharist is concerned" (No. 4, p. 43). Does this statement reflect the personal preference of the theologian concerned? Or does it even rest on a misunderstanding?

I am inclined to think that the eucharistic ecclesiology may, in fact, be regarded as a basis for agreement between Orthodox and Lutherans. At the same time, it will be essential to bear joint witness to the close connection and interrelatedness in content between the Word proclaimed and the sacrament experienced in the eucharistic service. This, of course, does mean a decided rejection of the assertion "that the preached Word alone

is really constitutive for the Church and for Christian existence" (No. 5, p. 56; cf. also No. 4, p. 32). Whereas the definition of the Church in *Confessio Augustana* 7 clearly emphasizes the pure preaching of the Gospel *and* the pure administration of the sacraments as the Church's foundation, one must raise the critical question of how far Evangelical doctrine and liturgical practice take equal account of these two features, for the priority given to the Word is, of course, well-known. As the then president of the Evangelical Church in Germany, Bishop Class said, "Despite all protestations (that is, of the unity of word and sacrament) we must not forget the great sacramental deficit in the Lutheran Church. How much spiritual distress derives from the fact that we live with this deficit" (No. 5, p. 127). Against this one-sided Evangelical predominance of the Word, an Orthodox speaker urged: "The Word alone cannot found the Church. The Word alone forms a general doctrine. The Church, however, needs more than the Word in order to be the Church, namely, participation in Christ's death and resurrection which is given by the sacraments of baptism and the Eucharist" (No. 5, p. 126). On the other hand, this does not exclude the fact that the sermon should be more firmly anchored in the Orthodox liturgy, and here the Orthodox can learn from the Lutherans (No. 5, p. 145).

What has been said so far also indicates the mission of the Church. Orthodox and Lutherans see it as the salvation of the faithful (cf. also No. 1, p. 52; No. 2, pp. 5, 22, 104; No. 5, p. 133). The Church is inseparably bound up with the saving actions of the New Covenant, which it 'lives and proclaims' (No. 5, p. 50; cf. No. 2, p. 9). Soteria, salvation, is "the new reality of Christian life, the state of salvation, eternal life" (No. 2, p. 12). It is "future," eschatological, and at the same time "present" (No. 2, p. 17). Because the mission of the Church is salvation, the Church is termed "the sacrament (i.e. the mystery) of redemption" (No. 2, p. 92). A certain disagreement, it is true, emerged about how far "individual concern for salvation . . . is fully discharged by the concern for salvation which the Church has taken upon itself"; how far, therefore, the question of assurance of salvation is a matter of the individual or of the Church (No. 4, p. 26f.). This question will, however, occupy us later, in connection with synergism.

Later too, in connection with the sacrament of the priesthood, a few indications will be given which will clarify somewhat the Orthodox expression about the "priestly" nature of the Church (No. 5, pp. 53, 57). The issues here are on one hand "the fundamental principles" of the apostolic succession and conciliarity (No. 2, pp. 88, 97), and on the other the function of the ordained minister, particularly in the celebration of the Eucharist. These problems were, indeed, touched on occasionally by

Orthodox, but a definite Evangelical declaration on them is lacking. Nor is it easy either.

An interesting item regarding the nature of the Church in these discussions between the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Evangelical Church in Germany, is R. Stupperich's attempt to show that Protestantism does not divide 'visible' and 'invisible' Church (No. 1, p. 33; cf. also No. 1, p. 10; No. 3, p. 127), while immediately adding, 'The nature of the Church does not, of course, consist of institutions, but of inner power' (No. 1, pp. 35-36). We may probably detect in this statement an "allergy" to 'the Church as a visible human institution'; the Orthodox are confronted here with an apparent "antithesis of institutional and charismatic Church. The Church must, however, be both institutional (corresponding to the incarnation) and charismatic (corresponding to the Holy Spirit)" (No. 2, p. 79). This point, too, will have to be more closely dealt with in the forthcoming dialogue. Similarly, the term "particular churches" (Teilkirchen) used on the Lutheran side will have to be explained (No. 1, pp. 9, 44, 46f.). For the Orthodox, it is at least liable to misapprehension. Two further aspects concerning the nature of the Church that were mentioned incidentally in the talks, are: first, the marks of the Church and; secondly, (teaching) authority in the Church. While the Orthodox profess their faith in the "one, holy, catholic and apostolic Church" (cf. on this No. 2, p. 97; No. 4, p. 154), Article 7 of the *Confessio Augustana* speaks of the "one, holy *Christian* Church" (No. 1, p. 20). How do the two formularies stand to one another? The question of authority, in particular to the teaching authority in the Church, with which we shall also deal presently, is of central importance for Orthodox-Lutheran dialogue; clarification of this point will determine most decisively the course and success of the theological dialogue.

The Operation of the Holy Spirit in the Church

THE OPERATION OF THE HOLY SPIRIT as essential to and constitutive of the Church, has already been referred to and is plainly affirmed in many further declarations of Orthodox and Lutherans. The "Holy Spirit lives always in the Church" (No. 2, p. 30) and, according to the well-known Orthodox hymn at the end of the Liturgy, is "received" by the faithful in the Eucharist (No. 2, p. 62). These plain statements from Orthodox theologians are matched by many Evangelical declarations in the papers read at the first conversations in 1969. At that meeting, the Germans presented their four papers on the operation of the Holy Spirit as the foundation of the Church (No. 1, p. 9). The fact that at that "conversation" no Orthodox papers were read, and probably no thorough discussions held,

makes it difficult to evaluate the material. The Metropolitan of Myra, Chrystostomos Konstantinides, summed up his judgement as follows: "The subject of the Holy Spirit is not exhausted by what was said in the four papers. Nor can a dialogue begin solely with the doctrine of the Holy Spirit." He wanted to make that clear from Bishop Eichele's paper. The pneumatology of the Acts of the Apostles throws lights on *one* problem of the Bible. The Orthodox recognize in Acts the actions of the Holy Spirit, but at the same time they do not forget that these actions are also actions of the apostles. The Orthodox could, therefore, not speak of the Holy Spirit in Acts unless they also took account of the church aspects (No. 1, pp. 53-54). Emphasis on the operation of the Holy Spirit as what is received by men and unites God with men, appears ecclesiologically important (e.g. No. 1, p. 27). Although on the Orthodox side this union is regarded as principally realized in the hypostatic union and in participation through the sacraments in the life, death and resurrection of God's Logos made man, it is, nevertheless, undisputed that Orthodox doctrine "cannot speak of the Church without speaking of the Holy Spirit . . . It is the Holy Spirit who awakens the Church, gives it life and effectively makes it operative in history, present and future" (No. 1, p. 32; No. 5, p. 127). This intimate and essential connection of Church and Holy Spirit is also underlined in the remark of the great Patriarch Athenagoras that "he did not know whether there were any Churches which do not possess the Holy Spirit" (No. 1, p. 52). In fact, where the Holy Spirit is not operative, there is no Church either.

In the course of discussion, the operation of the Holy Spirit in the Church was frequently set in relation: firstly, to truth in the Church; and secondly, to salvation. While both churches teach in common that Christian doctrine and truth is ascertainable with the help of the Holy Spirit, they diverge when it comes to concrete formulation of the mode in which this is done. For the Orthodox, "the operation of the Holy Spirit guides the Church to preserve the truth of Holy Scripture and of Holy Tradition" (No. 1, pp. 16-17). This means that "the truth of God ..." is found "in the Church" (No. 2, p. 90) and Tradition is "part of the abiding operation of the Holy Spirit in the Church" (No. 1, p. 17). Fundamental here is the view of the Orthodox Church which "declares itself to be a continuation of the ancient Church" and is "the Church without schism or apostasy" (No. 1, p. 10). It understands the words of Scripture "in accordance with the theologians who are recognized by the Holy Synods in the Holy Spirit for the pious purpose" (No. 1, p. 12). Christian truth is accordingly recognized and expressed in the Church's Synods with the assistance of the Holy Spirit; it is "embodied," incarnate (No. 2, p. 29f.).

The Lutheran declarations are not readily compatible with this concrete

Orthodox formulation. Difficulties emerge, for instance, when it is said that with the help of the Holy Spirit Christian truth is "to be had from Scripture even without tradition" (No. 1, p. 13; cf. also p. 12 "Scripture alone"), although on the Evangelical side, they too, were inclined to acknowledge validity in continuity with traditional belief (No. 1, pp. 10,20). When reference is made to the "Word," it is "always the living Word of preaching, with the Holy Spirit in addition (No. 1, p. 35) or operative in the Word" (No. 4, p. 148f.). But what does it mean in the concrete to say that the Holy Spirit makes the Word "living"? Or that the "immediately operating Word and sacrament" and "also all ministries," are the "means" of the Holy Spirit sustaining the Church (No. 1, p. 35)? Do these means concern only "the real (i.e. invisible) Church of faith" (No. 1, p. 33)? And if not, what actually happens with the "prophetic Spirit" (No. 5, p. 66) of the Church and of the enablement of the apostles and their successors to preach the message of Christ?

In regard to salvation, too, the common teaching is that for instance "sanctification . . ." is "the concrete operation of the Holy Spirit in the Church" (No. 1, p. 34; No. 2, p. 21; No. 4, p. 154). The Holy Spirit bestows the charisms and the many energies and gifts in the Church which we term the 'grace of God' " (No. 4, p. 98; cf. also No. 1, p. 46; No. 2, pp. 13, 83; No. 4, pp. 152, 174). In particular, mention must be made here of the connection of the operation of the Holy Spirit with the sacraments (No. 1, p. 35; No. 3, p. 28; No. 4, p. 127; No. 5, pp. 57, 59). However, more particular statements about salvation will be dealt with in connection with synergism.

Unity of Faith and the Boundaries of the Church

A TYPICAL COMMENT ON the subject of unity of faith and the boundaries of the Church, is that of Fr. Heyer after the first talks:

The dialogue of Orthodoxy with its other partners always strives towards the goal of Church union through recognition of the apostolic episcopate and doctrinal consensus. In view of the far-reaching consequences entailed by the result of the talks, people proceed with great circumspection. It is evident that Orthodoxy does not intend to make any concessions to its partners. The aspiration to such a goal is a remote one in the Orthodox-Evangelical encounter. That has the advantage of greater spontaneity and freedom in give-and-take (Nos. 1 and 2).

While the goal of the conversations between the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Evangelical Church in Germany was in fact mutual give-

and-take (Cf. above pp. 2-3; see also No. 1, p. 6; No. 5, p. 12), the purpose of the incipient official theological dialogue is church union. In Heyer's words, this latter goal presupposes for the Orthodox: firstly, a "recognition of the apostolic episcopate"; and secondly, a "doctrinal consensus." The first point is probably a formal condition which is not regarded as an independent one by the Orthodox Church (No. 5, p. 131), but completely merges in the sole condition of unity, the "doctrinal consensus": Recognition of ministries, however, would lead, in my opinion, into a blind alley. Mutual recognition of baptism, the Lord's Supper and ministries, would, in fact, simply lead to silence and the end of ecumenical dialogue. For the Church to become one, however, truth must prevail for all. Such mutual recognition could only find its basis in a joint document on faith and order (No. 5, p. 132; cf. also No. 2, pp. 24,64; No. 5, p. 59 and the paper by E. Melia, "Validity of ministries—validity of the Eucharist," pp. 62-75, especially p. 68f). Mutual recognition of ministries as the way that leads to ecumenical unity, clearly corresponds to Evangelical ideas (No. 5, pp. 129,141). The Orthodox unshakably hold fast to the view that unity of faith makes possible and guarantees the unity of the Church, and conversely, that the boundaries of the Church are manifested by unity of belief.

This contrast in the ways of conceiving the road to unity should perhaps not be emphasized so strongly. Lutheran statements such as, for example, that "the substance of faith" is sufficient for "the unity of the Church" (No. 5, p. 130), or that the unity of the Church is preserved by the Holy Spirit (No. 1, p. 35), or that "confessional divisions . . . are regarded as imperilling the unity of the body of Christ in truth and love" (No. 1, p. 48; cf. also No. 1, pp. 45,51; No. 4, p. 12), absolutely need to be closely examined and clarified jointly. They could give the Orthodox the impression that unity of belief is a question that does not affect the unity and boundaries of the Church; church unity is viewed here rather "idealized" (No. 2, p. 77) and, therefore, as already existing. According to the report of the first meeting, even Patriarch Athenagoras is said to have expressed himself in a similar way, namely that the unity of the Church would be attained "but each Church would retain what is its own" (Nos. 1;2, p. 52; cf. No. 2, p. 23). Of course, each Church will keep what is its own, but only on the assumption that "what is its own" does not concern the unity of belief. For not all differences are such as to divide the Church (No. 4, p.24; cf. also No. 4, p. 179, note 44; No. 5, p. 138). Unity of faith is verifiable and can be confirmed by traditional belief. Consequently, the Orthodox think that doctrinal differences must be removed (No. 4, p. 22), and act so confidently on the basis of their continuity with traditional faith, that an Evangelical described as typical "The Orthodox Christians as those who have something, and the Evangelical Christians

as those of whom precisely that is lacking" (No. 4, p. 20).

Leaving that aside, it must be noted in this context that, according to the talks between the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Evangelical Church in Germany, the Church proclaims the catholicity and universality of salvation, and works towards that goal (No. 2, pp. 20, 22, 87; No. 3, p. 78; cf. No. 2, pp. 11, 14-15). As regards its mission, the boundaries of the Church are limitless.

The Holy Sacraments (Mysteria)

WITH REFERENCE NO DOUBT to *Confessio Augustana* 7 and the other Reformation formularies of belief, the Evangelical representatives at the talks repeatedly used the well-known expression "word and sacrament"; salvation is offered to the faithful by the preaching of the Word and the administration of the sacraments (Cf. No. 1, p. 33; No. 2, pp. 47, 50, 72; No. 4, p. 47; No. 5, p. 11). At the same time the "inherent power of the word and the intrinsic power of the sacrament" is emphasized (No. 4, p. 29). Although the Orthodox, too, on occasion use the same expression (cf. No. 2, p. 90), they do not start from an "intrinsic power" of the word or sacrament (Cf. No. 4, p. 34: "the celebration of the Eucharist as such is already proclamation". Nor do they regard the word as "constitutive" for the sacrament as the Lutherans do (cf. No. 4, p. 39, 119ff.). Word and sacrament are not antithetical for the Orthodox, but closely related to one another (No. 4, p. 56, 57, 120ff., 125ff.). This close connection of word and sacrament, is nevertheless, sometimes rather weakened when it is pointed out that man participates "in the passion and death of Christ . . . through living faith, through the sacraments" (No. 2, p. 35, No. 3, pp. 28, 107; No. 4, p. 95). Here the impression is given that word and preaching receive the subsidiary part, and that what is of consequence, in a certain sense exclusively, is sacramental life. This legitimate Orthodox attachment to the sacraments is in contrast to the Evangelical view that "in proclamation . . . all share in . . . the gift of eternal life in Jesus Christ" (No. 1, p. 40). Whereas Lutheran declarations of that kind give an absolute value to the word and maintain "the danger of verbalism" (No. 5, p. 127; cf. No. 4, p. 43f.), on the Orthodox side there is a danger of neglecting proclamation. It is indisputable that "Lutheranism and Orthodoxy can learn from one another here" (No. 5, p. 123; cf. also p. 145).

It is not always possible to bring Lutheran and Orthodox declarations into agreement, not only in regard to the inherent interconnection of Word and sacrament, but also in regard to the way sacrament is understood. The Orthodox apply their criticism even to the actual term "sacrament." The Latin word "sacramentum" is not an equivalent of the Greek term

“mysterion.” With the Latin word “sacrament” the West is wholly focused on the sign, whereas in the context of the “mysterion” the East is always chiefly interested in the occurrence as a whole. And what occurs does not occur at one point, but in the whole Liturgy (No. 4, pp. 19-20, 151; cff. No. 5, p. 55). The Lutherans, on the other hand, hold fast in this respect to the scholastic “sacramental concept”; and emphasize the institution by Christ: firstly, by a “word of promise”; and secondly, by “a visible sign of grace” (No. 4, pp. 127, 129ff.). The Orthodox regard the sacraments as so closely bound up with ecclesiology that they sometimes refuse to treat them “as an independent theme” (No. 4, p. 172). This, of course, is a question of method, but has consequences for the understanding of the sacraments. An objective analysis is avoided (No. 4, p. 165ff.). The ordained ministry is not regarded as “a capability endowed with the grace or the ‘potestas’ validly to administer the sacraments (i.e. even perhaps outside the Church)” (No. 4, p. 171). This link between sacramental doctrine and ecclesiology explains the relation between sacraments and Holy Spirit (Cf. No. 2, p. 62: The Holy Spirit “is constitutive in every sacrament”), and also salvation in Christ (No. 2, p. 111; No. 3, p. 107).

As regards the number of sacraments, it is noteworthy that in the talks the Lutheran representatives did not express themselves on the subject directly at all. Indirectly, they speak of the “sacraments” of the Eucharist, baptism and, very seldom, penance (on the latter cf. No. 4, p. 123f.). They do, indeed, also speak of the ministry or of the magisterium, but it cannot be concluded without further ado that we may take this to be the sacrament of holy orders, especially as mention is made at the same time with special emphasis of the priesthood of all believers (cf. in particular the paper of A. Peters, No. 4, pp. 76-101). The Orthodox representatives for their part repeat the number, familiar since the Middle Ages, of “seven” sacraments, but do not stress the mere numerical fact, but the specific grace of the Holy Spirit which is bestowed on their recipients.

Thus the sacraments “renew and strengthen in the new life in Christ (baptism and confirmation); nourish or vivify by strengthening union with Christ (Eucharist); heal the soul and the body from all sins, which inflict moral wounds (penance and anointing); they ennoble and strengthen those who are ordained to office in the Church (holy orders), or they ennoble and sanctify the bond of matrimony for an honorable and natural common life (marriage)” (No. 4, p. 104; cf. also p. 160). On the basis of this special criterion, and in accord with Nicholas Kabasilas, they also speak of three “chief sacraments,” that is, baptism, chrismation (confirmation) and the Eucharist (No. 4, p. 154). Finally, in the context of eucharistic ecclesiology, the Eucharist is pointedly declared to be “more than simply

the most important or most central sacrament: the whole sacramental life flows together in the Eucharist and attains fulfillment by it" (No. 4, p. 174).

This special significance of the Eucharist in the life of the faithful is reflected in the fact that the most frequent discussions during the meetings concerned this sacrament. This applies above all to the fourth meeting and the corresponding publication on "The Invocation of the Holy Spirit." In this, not only the Eucharist in general, but a whole series of particular questions are dealt with, such as those of the celebrant (cf. No. 4, pp. 21, 29, 151, 155, 158, 171, 174, 179; see also No. 5, *passim*), of the epiclesis and of the words of institution (cf. No. 4, pp. 8, 20, 68, 95, especially 117-18, 124, 131, 156, 159, 177; see also No. 5, pp. 137, 142), of transubstantiation and the real presence (cf. No. 4, pp. 19, 21, 32, 37, 39, 42, 46, 51, 55, 94, 131, 159, 167, 176; see also No. 2, p. 119; No. 5, pp. 55, 104, 136), of the sacrificial character (cf. No. 4, pp. 29, 144, 155, 158, 169; see also No. 3, p. 67; No. 5, pp. 20, 34, 49, 62, 76, 102), and of intercommunion (cf. No. 4, p. 178; see also No. 2, p. 64).

The question of the ordained priesthood was also dealt with thoroughly. Ample material is found on this too (cf. Section 5 of the corresponding discussion on "Eucharist and Priesthood"; see also No. 1, p. 46f.; No. 2, pp. 50, 67, 70, 78, 82, 93, 121; No. 3, p. 104; No. 4, pp. 21, 29, 32, 46, 98, 155, 158, 174, 179). Reference is also repeatedly made to the sacrament of baptism (cf. No. 1, pp. 34, 39, 51; No. 2, pp. 23, 60, 70, 72, 77; No. 3, p. 52; No. 4, pp. 153, 157; No. 5, pp. 56, 120).

Apart from these three sacraments, the others were only occasionally mentioned in the talks, so we do not need to deal with them here. It would certainly be possible, on the basis of the above-mentioned statements on the three sacraments, to work out agreements and doctrinal differences between Orthodoxy and Lutheranism. This, however, would lead us very far here, so the indications already given must suffice.

Synergism

IT HAS ALREADY BEEN NOTED that in the talks between the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Evangelical Church in Germany, different judgements were expressed on the question of assurance of salvation. In the Orthodox view, the believer attains his salvation by participation in the sacramental life of the Church, whereas for Evangelical Christians the individual question ("How can I get a merciful God?") remains predominant; for them, "assurance of salvation . . . is won in an individual struggle," they consequently ask themselves "whether it is permissible for us (i.e. Evangelicals) to diverge from our Western tradition and enter on that kind of solution

(i.e. Orthodox) of the question of assurance of salvation" (No. 4, p. 25-26; cf. No. 2, p. 121; No. 3, p. 116). The difference of views on this question points to a difference of emphasis in the complex of questions which is dealt with here under the heading of "synergism," and which concerns the problem of salvation as such. This problem, which is, of course, the problem par excellence of theology and the Church, is in a sense aggravated in advance by terminology. There is a whole list of words the mere mention of which tends to unsettle the other partner in discussion. Among them, as well as "synergism" itself, are "sola fida," "sola gratia," "predestination," "faith and works," "free will," etc. In the course of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, these and similar words acquired such close confessional associations that their mere use is construed as pointing to a particular theological line of thought. Despite this terminological handicap, agreement in substance was repeatedly apparent in the discussions.

Orthodox and Lutherans both teach, in the first place, that redemption is Christ's work. But while the Lutherans link this saving action of Christ "one-sidedly" with the death on the cross ("satisfaction-theology"), the Orthodox emphasize the interplay and interconnection of incarnation, death on the cross and resurrection (No. 2, p. 34; cf. on this also pp. 48, 53, 112). In all these saving actions, the human nature which God's Logos has assumed participates: "That means that it, too, is crucified and risen; that it, too, is raised up and sits at the right hand of the Father" (No. 2, p. 33). Does this, perhaps, also mean that human nature is to be regarded as a contributing cause of redemption, in other words that salvation from the beginning came about synergistically—for instance through the "cooperation" of Mary? Fr. Hoyer presented this view without qualification as Orthodox doctrine (No. 3, p. 32); it was also put forward by C. Andronikof, while I expressed myself against it (No. 4, p. 30f.; cf. No. 2, p. 36; No. 3, p. 48). This is certainly not the appropriate place for me to deal with it in detail.

Orthodox theology at all events excludes two extremes in this connection: "On one hand the fear which Protestants traditionally feel of any 'mediatorship' of any other being than Christ in the accomplishment of salvation, and on the other, the tendencies which from time to time emerge in Roman Catholic Mariology towards elevating Mary to 'co-mediatrix' or even to 'co-redemptrix'."¹⁵ Her consent (the "fiat") and the birth of

¹⁵J. Kalogirou, "Marienlehre und -verehrung in der orthodoxen Kirche auf dem Hintergrund der Christologie," *Internationale Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 68 (1978) 28, cf. also the view of D. Dimitrijevic quoted on p. 26: "She (i.e. Mary) is, therefore, the mediatrix, because she gave birth to the true mediator. Nevertheless, she is not a mediatrix in the proper sense of the word", see also the joint text of the Orthodox-Old Catholic Theological Commission on "the Mother of God," *ibid.*, p. 43. The Church distinguishes, however, the intercession of the Mother of God from the wholly unique mediatorship of Jesus Christ.

Christ, undoubtedly raise the Mother of God to be highly favored and first among saints, but do not imply synergism in the accomplishment of salvation in the proper sense. The question of synergism is consequently limited in my opinion to the appropriation of the salvation already there (No. 3, p. 109), and there is perhaps a possibility of objective Orthodox-Lutheran rapprochement on this.

Traditional Lutheran doctrine regards man as "simul justus et peccator"; he is a sinner "in re" but a just man "in spe" (No. 2, p. 13; cf. No. 1, p. 34; No. 3, p. 109). The sinful human being is the sole reality (No. 2, p. 8). Orthodox theology certainly does not deny human sinfulness, but places the new, redeemed man in the center of its considerations: "The new man is defined by participation in the life of the Church" (No. 3, p. 105; cf. No. 2, pp. 23f., 122). The Lutheran judgement consequently inclines towards pessimism, the Orthodox towards optimism (No. 3, pp. 26, 30, 118; cf. also the warning against excessive optimism by Metropolitan Irenaios, No. 2, p. 91).

This central view of man conditions the theological statements of each Church over the whole of the history of salvation: from the creation, the original state of the first created human beings, original sin and its consequences, to Christ's redemptive work, the conception of grace and predestination, the free or unfree will of man and his cooperation in the personal appropriation of salvation. It is particularly apparent in the conception of salvation. For the Evangelical representatives, "the justification of the sinner is the true saving benefit" (No. 2, p. 44; cf. also No. 2, pp. 12, 47-50, 120), whereas for the Orthodox, justification despite its "close relation" to salvation (No. 2, p. 8), is not a sufficient description of salvation; consequently for them the term theosis (deification) expresses something more (cf. No. 4, p. 45; see also No. 2, pp. 94, 115, 121; No. 3, pp. 27, 49, 60, 117; No. 4, pp. 38, 41, 46). This was admitted by an Evangelical representative who said, "I believe, in fact, that a mere patching over of sinful wretchedness made possible by grace, only half describes grace, that grace does more in its total operation, plunges us, in fact, into living light, and makes possible more than simply the covering over of what we have ruined by our sin" (No. 3, p. 116; cf. also No. 2, pp. 50, 113-14).

As regards the appropriation of salvation in particular, it is noteworthy that, according to a passage in *Confessio Augustana*, Article 4, "we obtain forgiveness of sin and become just before God by grace for Christ's sake through faith" (No. 2, p. 45; cf. No. 2, p. 11). What does this passage

"For there is one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus" (1 Tim 2.5). To be sure, in the Church's hymns the Mother of God is also called "mediatrix" (μεσίτρια), but certainly not ever in the sense of co-mediatrix or co-redemptrix, but only in the sense of intercessor.

mean for the Evangelical theologians, and what do the Orthodox think of it? It should, of course, be recalled that Lutheran theologians themselves emphasize that the *Confessio Augustana* statements were conditioned by historical circumstances (No. 2, p. 46). As regards the appropriation of salvation in the light of the *Confessio Augustana* passage just quoted, the following can be established:

1. The Lutheran conception starts from the “lack of any even germinal potentiality ‘of man’ to approach God again” (No. 2, p. 45). Consequently, on the Evangelical side, any freedom is denied to man. R. Stupperich pointed, it is true, in this connection, to the “synergy controversy” within Lutheranism, and expressed the opinion that Luther “over-emphasizes” his deterministic standpoint, just as Erasmus “likewise—perhaps from our present-day standpoint—over-emphasizes” his indeterministic one (No. 3, p. 110; cf. also p. 113: Geisser’s contribution); that is why, according to Paul, the saving gifts presuppose “the will of man” (No. 2, p. 14). This particular Evangelical formulation comes somewhat nearer to the Orthodox doctrine, it is true, but does not entirely coincide with it:

On the debate [said Fr. Heyer], on the *liberum arbitrium* and the *servum arbitrium*, it must be said that one finds Orthodox declarations which actually invert the conventional Lutheran view: fallen man is condemned to freedom. And man united to Christ is compelled to a *servum arbitrium* because he cannot sever his will from Christ. That looks like an inversion of Luther’s doctrine. But in the paradoxical way one often finds with Luther, he once expressed the very thought which is typical of the Orthodox: The human being who has become one with Christ is the one who has lost his possibility of choice, because he has to follow in the footsteps of his Lord (No. 3, p. 116; cf. No. 2, p. 63).

The emphasis of free will in man in Orthodox theology is founded on the legitimate theological view that man was created “not for perdition but for grace and bliss” (No. 2, p. 26) and consequently is both responsible for his actions after the fall and has to “strive for the food that endures” after Christ’s incarnation (Jn 6.27; cf. No. 2, p. 35; No. 3, p. 109f.; No. 4, p. 27). For salvation in Christ is not imposed upon man. Can this Orthodox doctrine perhaps be brought to some extent into harmony with the Evangelical statement on the “responsibility of the Christian” (No. 2, p. 108; No. 4, p. 25)? What is the nature of this responsibility?

2. Although the emphases in Orthodox and Lutheran theology differ in regard to free will and human responsibility, they nevertheless agree that the decisive factor in salvation is not the will and actions of man, but God’s work and grace. Christ has fulfilled everything objectively necessary for salvation, and man is, therefore, “*gratis* just before God”

(*gratis propter Christum*; No. 2, p. 44ff.), or divinized by grace.

3. Justification is conferred on man, according to Lutheran doctrine, *per fidem* (No. 2, pp. 46-48, 52; cf. No. 2, p. 35; No. 2, p. 12). With Luther, it is a question not of an active, but solely of a trusting, receptive faith, which is only stirred up and established in the sacrament; this strong emphasis on its gift-character is, in the Lutheran view, to be understood by contrast with scholasticism (No. 4, p. 27f.). Certainly, this is a correct explanation of the strong emphasis on the gift-character of faith in Lutheranism, but one must also draw conclusions from it. For Orthodox doctrine sees in faith also a human act: to receive Christ (Jn 1.12) is an act of faith. An act of faith, however, is an act of a human being and consequently, but not only, a gift of God, but also a full power which God bestows through the Holy Spirit. And here we find what synergism means: one cannot believe if God does not give the full power to believe. And one cannot pray except in the power of the Holy Spirit whom God himself gives (No. 4, p. 28; cf. No. 2, p. 23; No. 3, p. 29). God, consequently, vouchsafes man's cooperation. The subjective appropriation of salvation cannot, therefore, be understood either passively, mechanically or magically, or on the other hand, juridically or anthropomorphically. Man has his part to play in salvation; "God's is the giving, thine is the receiving and preserving," says Cyril of Jerusalem (*Catecheses* 1.4; PG 33,376); this is where "the synergism of divine grace and human freedom" is involved (No. 2, p. 35; No. 3, pp. 104, 107, 111).

4. This, of course, concerns the act of faith as human cooperation, but cooperation must not be regarded as not extending beyond that. For Orthodoxy, cooperation also signifies human exertion to preserve grace and act rightly (No. 4, p. 30; cf. No. 2, p. 68; No. 3, p. 109f.). It is the issue known by the not entirely appropriate pair of terms "faith and works." This expression conceals the danger of two misconceptions which the Reformation rejected, but which, in any case, were never Orthodox doctrine. In the first place, faith and works cannot be separated; living faith includes love. In this sense, Lutheran (cf. No. 2, p. 49; especially p. 99ff. and p. 120f.; No. 3, p. 115) and Orthodox (cf. No. 2, pp. 112, 114, 121, 124; No. 3, pp. 111, 124) declarations during the conversations are in agreement. Secondly, for Orthodoxy and Lutheranism the works do not have meritorious character (cf. No. 2, p. 54, 119; No. 3, p. 113; No. 4, p. 27f.).

Holy Scripture and Holy Tradition

WHAT IS THE AUTHENTIC CHRISTIAN message, and wherein is it contained? How is it reflected by the believer? These questions did not receive entirely uniform answers from the representatives of the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Evangelical Church in Germany. On the contrary, they placed different emphases corresponding to their respective theological

tradition. These special stresses may be summarized for the sake of clarity under the following three heads:

1. Luther and the Lutheran confessional formularies have handed down a further "sola" in regard to our theme. "Protestantism in its doctrinal views starts solely from Holy Scripture . . . Consequently, Scripture counts . . . as the sole norm of doctrine (*norma normans*) . . . the confessions simply indicate the correct understanding of Scripture and always point back to Holy Scripture. The Confession (*norma normata*) must agree with Scripture" (No. 1, p. 322; cf. No. 4, p. 120: "As the evidences of Church interpretations, traditions and definitions, they—i.e. the confessional formularies—are only *norma normans normata*. Holy Scripture, on the other hand, is *norma normans non normata*" No. 5, pp. 118, 121; on "sola scriptura" see in particular pp. 140 and 142f.). This Lutheran view that Scripture is "the trustworthy and genuine standard" of right Christian doctrine, differs from the Orthodox conception, which also recognizes Tradition, and regards the Church as the real standard; this emerged as an important difference as early as the correspondence between Patriarch Jeremias and the Tübingen divines (No. 1, pp. 12, 16; cf. No. 2, p. 87).

Nevertheless, the Lutheran *sola scriptura* doctrine is somewhat mitigated by the statement "that Holy Scripture is preceded and followed by a tradition. This could be the foundation for further reflection" (No. 1, p. 51) or "that we (i.e. Lutherans and Orthodox) in common share in both gifts, Scripture and the Fathers" (No. 3, p. 110; cf. No. 1, p. 18ff.), or when it is said: "I am for a serious view of the Canon, but not for an absolute one. Theologically the Canon is important, but it must not be given an absolute value" (No. 5, p. 119). Declarations of this kind approach the Orthodox statements: "When we read the New Testament, we observe, paradoxically, that it contains both the continuation of something that was already there and the beginning of something new" (No. 2, p. 19; cf. No. 5, p. 52). It contains "the testimony of the eye-witnesses and evangelists" (No. 2, p. 22; cf. p. 111: The New Testament "is a written confession of faith.") In these statements one sees the interpenetration of Scripture and Tradition (cf. No. 5, pp. 115, 123). There are, of course, statements of Orthodox theologians tending to separate Scripture and Tradition, but these bear the stamp of a Roman Catholic viewpoint. As opposed to this, it has come to be generally recognized in the Orthodox Church today, that the Logos is the subject of the Bible *and* of Tradition (No. 2, p. 114). Scripture and Tradition are not understood dualistically but as forming a unity. The *norma normans* and the criterion of truth is the Church (No. 2, p. 117). Holy Scripture "is the essential criterion of truth, but *in* the Church" (No. 2, p. 118). This Orthodox emphasis on the function of the Church seems to me to be recognized, to a certain extent, also by the Lutherans, when for example they speak of "a bridge

by which the word came to us" (No. 5, p. 125).

As regards the relation between Scripture and Tradition, we shall quote in conclusion two further statements. Metropolitan Irenaios declared in his closing address at the final service of worship at the fifth meeting: "In the discussions between Orthodox and Protestants, we Orthodox have not rejected the fundamental *sola scriptura* thesis. In addition, however, we regard our Orthodox Tradition as of equal value for Christian truth, and we have many serious reasons for this" (No. 5, p. 28). President Held summed up that relation as follows:

In both Churches we appeal to Holy Scripture as the fundamental confession of faith, but we each read it differently in the historical perspective of the life of our respective Church and piety. So, for instance, in accord with Reformation conviction, the Evangelicals emphasized the preeminence of God's Word over Church tradition, while our Orthodox partners took as their starting point the great importance of the sacraments for the Church, and in the question of the effective appropriation of salvation, placed them over the gospel message preached by word of mouth. They regarded Holy Scripture as wholly located in the context of the living tradition of the Church which interprets Holy Scripture, whereas the Lutheran theologians took into account the testimony of the Bible very much more as a decisive critical court of appeal in respect of all church tradition and reality (No. 5, p. 10).

2. Although the Lutheran theologians expressed themselves during the talks in more or less critical terms in regard to Tradition, it is clear from the discussion so far that they, too, do speak of tradition. What is meant is chiefly the patristic tradition in Protestant theology, of which W. Schneemelcher gave a detailed account in the very first meeting (No. 1, p. 18ff.). The link of the Reformation with the doctrine and tradition of the ancient Church, must be particularly emphasized here. Nevertheless, it is fundamental in the first place that:

It cannot be overlooked that by this (i.e. in connection with the doctrine of *Confessio Augustana* Article 7), the value of tradition assumes a different weight and a different aspect. For the dogmatic tradition which was, of course, acknowledged in the fundamental dogmas, was not juxtaposed with the word of God, but was measured by this word of Scripture. At the same time, continuity with the Fathers was never lightly abandoned. Their authority, however, becomes derivative; they are an authority to the extent that they are witnesses to God's word (No. 1, p. 20).

The same applies, in general, both to the "noncanonical tradition, as

translated into dogma, liturgy and canon law" and to the Reformation doctrinal formularies (No. 1, p. 20; No. 2, p. 44), which assume a function of ensuring the apostolic tradition and fortifying its authority (No. 1, p. 24; cf. No. 2, pp. 51, 53; No. 3, p. 103). Secondly, in speaking of patristic tradition, the Lutherans, under the influence of "patristic scholarship," place the end of the patristic age in the East in the eighth, and in the West in the seventh century (No. 1, p. 14).

Orthodox theology, on the other hand, ascribes a much more important role to the consensus of patristic tradition.

The Orthodox Church regards not only the first seven centuries, but also what has played a special role since, as falling within that framework. It takes account of what stands in continuity with the teaching of these first centuries. It would be wrong, however, to identify the teaching of a Father of the Church or of a later theologian with the doctrine of the Church (No. 4, p. 25; cf. No. 1, p. 14f. and especially p. 17; see also No. 2, pp. 21f., 25, 82, 116; No. 4, pp. 20, 22, 24f.).

In regard to the relation of the two churches to patristic tradition, it is worth mentioning, in conclusion, the joint thesis of an Orthodox and a Lutheran spokesman: "Special importance attaches to the witness of the Fathers in discussion between our Churches. For the Orthodox Church knows itself bound by the tradition of the Fathers and endeavors to walk in that tradition. The Lutheran Church at the Reformation broke the scholastic framework and thereby also opened the way to renewed understanding of the Fathers" (No. 4, p. 17).

3. From what has been said, it is clear that the subject of Scripture and Tradition concerns in a special way the question of the teaching authority in the Church (cf. No. 2, pp. 7, 29f., 42, 84, 86, 89, 113; No. 3, pp. 46, 93; No. 5, pp. 118, 127, 138).

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PREACHING AS WORSHIP

GEOFFREY WAINWRIGHT

THE SECOND VATICAN COUNCIL, in its Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, restated what had always been in principle true: the homily is part of the liturgy itself, *pars ipsius liturgiae*.¹ The Easter narrative of the Emmaus pilgrims may already reflect a regular Sunday liturgy of the primitive Church, in which the presence of the risen Lord is experienced through the reading and exposition of the Scriptures and the divine Stranger is known in the breaking of the mysterious bread. In my own Methodist tradition, the Wesley brothers took Saint Luke's story in that way and made a present liturgical application in their *Hymns on the Lord's Supper*:

O thou who this mysterious bread
Didst in Emmaus break,
Return herewith our souls to feed,
And to Thy followers speak.

Unseal the volume of Thy grace,
Apply the gospel word,
Open our eyes to see Thy face,
Our hearts to know the Lord.²

Certainly word and sacrament belonged together in the Sunday assembly of the Christians by the time of Saint Justin Martyr in the middle of the second century:

And on the day called Sun-day an assembly is held in one place of all who live in town or country, and the records of the apostles or writings of the prophets are read for as long as time allows.

The Saint John Chrysostom Lectures delivered at the Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology, Brookline, November 1982.

¹*Sacrosanctum concilium*, 52; cf. 35 (2).

²John and Charles Wesley, *Hymns on the Lord's Supper* (Bristol, 1745), no. 29. For a study see J. E. Rattenbury, *The Eucharistic Hymns of John and Charles Wesley* (London, 1948).

Then, when the reader has finished, the president in a discourse admonishes and exhorts us to imitate these good things.

Then we all stand up together and offer prayers; and as we said before, when we have finished praying, bread and wine and water are brought up, and the president likewise offers prayers and thanksgivings to the best of his ability, and the people assent, saying the Amen; and there is a distribution, and everyone participates in the elements over which thanks have been given; and they are sent though the deacons to those who are not present.³

In the vicissitudes of Christian history, the sermon has sometimes been shifted from its proper place within the liturgy and may even, in certain degenerate periods and places, have disappeared altogether from use, while in Protestantism the service of the word has often been robbed of its sacramental counterpart and context. But since the teaching and practice of the early Church indicate that the homily is an integral component of the liturgy, it will be appropriate for us to consider preaching in the same theological categories as we use for Christian worship as such; and it may in return be the case that the sermon sheds light on the whole enterprise of Christian worship. Let us, therefore, try to examine preaching under four aspects which characterize the Church's liturgy but which modern writers rarely bring to bear on the sermon. I want to suggest that preaching is, first, doxological; second, anamnestic; third, epikletic; and fourth, eschatological. In the first case, the most explicit divine reference will be to God the Father; in the second case, to the incarnate Word; in the third case, to the Holy Spirit; and the fourth and final part of this first lecture will unite these various hypostatic accents in a suitable trinitarian harmony which will have been implicitly present throughout to sensitive ears. At all stages we shall seek help from the great preacher whose name honors this series of lectures.

The Doxological Character of Preaching

IN HIS TREATISE *On the Priesthood*, Saint John Chrysostom⁴ declares that "all these various [duties of the priest] have one goal in view: the glory of God and the upbuilding of the Church."⁵ Elsewhere this twin

³Justin Martyr, *Apology* 1, 67.

⁴For guidance in the writings of St. John Chrysostom I am greatly indebted to Reiner Kaczynski, *Das Wort Gottes in Liturgie und Alltag der Gemeinden des Johannes Chrysostomos* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1974). The systematic use of the historical material found there is naturally my own responsibility.

⁵*On the Priesthood* 6. 5: Πάντα δὲ ταῦτα τὰ διάφορα εἰς ἓν τέλος ὄρᾳ, τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴν

aim is ascribed by him to the preacher in particular, who as God's servant must have his mouth opened, and the word supplied, "for His glory and your edification."⁶ Such texts find their broad ecclesiological grounding in the liturgically framed passage of 1 Peter 2.4-10. By the very fact of being "built into a spiritual house, to be a holy priesthood, to offer spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God through Jesus Christ," Christians are "declaring the excellencies of Him who called you out of darkness into His marvellous light." And contrariwise, by proclaiming the *magnalia Dei* we are constituting a living temple for the worship of God. It is, however, not to Saint Peter but to Saint Paul that the preacher of Antioch and Constantinople looks for an example in his own priestly duty of preaching; and we may go with the golden-mouthed John to his apostolic instructor.

The Apostle to the Gentiles several times envisages his evangelism in liturgical terms. At the very end, he wrote to Timothy: "I am already on the point of being sacrificed; the time of my departure has come" (2 Tim 4.6). The martyrdom which Saint Paul expected was but the culmination of an apostolate marked by "afflictions, hardships, calamities, beatings, imprisonments, tumults, labors, watching, hunger" (2 Cor 6.4f). He bore on his body the marks of Jesus (Gal 6.17). In the trials of apostleship Paul believed that he was "carrying in the body the death of Jesus": "While we live we are always being given up to death for Jesus' sake, so that the life of Jesus may be manifested in our mortal flesh. So death is at work in us, but life in you" (2 Cor 4.7-12). The cultic roots of this sacrificial language become unmistakable when the Apostle writes to the Philippians: "Even if I am to be poured out as a libation upon the sacrificial offering of your faith (ἀλλὰ εἰ καὶ σπένδομαι ἐπὶ τῇ θυσίᾳ καὶ λειτουργίᾳ τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν), I am glad and rejoice with you all" (Phil 2.17).⁷ The self-spending of the gospel-preacher is part of the larger offering that includes the converts' faith. The modern spread of Christianity in black Africa, for example, was dependent, under God, on the willingness of missionaries from our churches to enter "the white man's grave": African Christians thankfully recognize that as a cause for rejoicing, whatever the ambiguities introduced by concomitant colonialism.

The Apostle's personal sacrifice finds its verbal counterpart in his preaching. To the Romans Saint Paul says: "On some points I have written to you very boldly, by way of reminder, because of the grace given me by God to be a minister (λειτουργόν) of Christ Jesus to the Gentiles in the priestly service (ἱεουργοῦντα) of the gospel of God, so that the

δόξαν, τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τὴν οἰκοδομήν (PG 48. 682).

⁶Homily 24. 1 on Genesis: εἰς δόξαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἰς οἰκοδομήν ὑμετέραν (PG 53. 207).

⁷See Homily 8. 4 on Letter to the Philippians (PG 62. 244f).

offering (ἡ προσφορά) of the Gentiles may be acceptable, sanctified by the Holy Spirit" (Rom 15.15f). In interpreting that text, Chrysostom places these words in the Apostle's mouth: "My priesthood consists in preaching and proclaiming; this is the sacrifice I offer"; and he develops the image by borrowing from Ephesians 6.17 "the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God."⁸ The offering of the Gentiles—it matters little exegetically whether the genitive is objective or subjective—is their "obedience," which is "the obedience of faith" (Rom 1.5). When in response to the preacher's message, conversions are made, the eucharistic chorus is thereby augmented: "Since we have the same spirit of faith as he had who wrote, 'I believed, and so I spoke,' we too believe, and so we speak, knowing that he who raised the Lord Jesus will raise us also with Jesus and bring us with you into his presence. For it is all for your sake, so that as grace extends to more and more people, it may increase thanksgiving, to the glory of God" (2 Cor 4.13-15).

John Chrysostom rightly concludes from the presence of the verb λατρεύω that Saint Paul in Romans 1.9 conceives of his evangelizing activity as itself the worship of God: "For God is my witness, to whom I render spiritual worship in proclaiming the gospel of his Son, that without ceasing I mention you always in my prayers . . ."⁹ In the sermon he preached at his ordination to the presbyterate, it is not on his prayers for the congregation that Chrysostom concentrates; and the future "doctor of the eucharist" does not so much as mention the sacrament. Rather the sermon itself, which God has put into his mouth, is returned to God as "an offering of firstfruits," "a sacred hymn of praise": "What kind of a sacrifice is the word, someone may ask. It is a great and august sacrifice, better than all others."¹⁰ Elsewhere he calls the closing doxology of the sermon a "fitting end."¹¹ It is so because it recalls the direction of the whole sermon toward God.

No more than the Apostle is the later preacher alone in his sacrifice.

⁸ *Homily 29. 1 on Letter to the Romans*: Ἀδὴ γάρ μοι ἱερῶσύνῃ τὸ κηρύττειν καὶ καταγγέλλειν· ταύτην προσφέρω τὴν θυσίαν... καὶ γὰρ μάχαιρά μου τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, φησὶν, ὁ τοῦ κηρύγματος λόγος (PG 60. 655). Cf. H. Schlier, "Die 'Liturgie' des apostolischen Evangeliums (Römer 15, 14-21)" in *Das Ende der Zeit: Exegetische Aufsätze und Vorträge* 3 (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1971), pp. 169-183. In expounding Acts 13.2, Chrysostom interprets λατρουῦντων as κηρυττόντων (*Homily 27. 1 on Acts of the Apostles*; PG 60. 205).

⁹ *Homily 2. 2 on Letter to the Romans* (PG 60. 402f). Chrysostom makes a link with John 4.24: "worship in spirit and in truth."

¹⁰ *Homily on When He Was Ordained Presbyter*, 1: τῶν προοιμίων ἀπαρξασθαι τῷ τὴν γλῶσσαν ἡμῖν ταύτην δεδοκότε Θεῷ... ὕμνον δὲ ἱερὸν . . . Καὶ ποία θυσία λόγος; ἴσως εἰποί τις ἄν. Μεγίστη μὲν οὖν, ἀγαπητέ, καὶ σεμνοτάτη, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπασῶν βελτίων (PG 48. 694).

¹¹ *Homily 16. 10 on Letter to the Romans*. On the forms of Chrysostom's doxology, see J. A. Jungmann, *Die Stellung Christi im liturgischen Gebet* 2nd ed. (Münster, 1962), p. 164f.

Just as Saint Paul's sacrificial evangelism drew the Gentiles into the obedient offering of themselves to God, so it would be fair to see John Chrysostom—by now preaching to the at least half converted—as leading the congregation in and into the “sacrifice of praise, the tribute of lips that acknowledge God's name” (Heb 13.15). The *sacrificium laudis* is traditionally identified with the eucharist proper, but it may also be appropriate to notice here some words of Chrysostom concerning the Psalms as used in Israel's and the Church's worship: “At one and the same time, God receives praise and the singers receive an instruction to guide their life and lead them to exact knowledge of the truths of faith.”¹² Just so with preaching. Not only are the sermons of Chrysostom hymns of praise; they are constantly concerned to help his hearers confess the true faith in the face of heretics and unbelievers and perhaps above all, to lead a Christian life.

In this last way, preaching is also indirectly doxological in that it is an encouragement to doxological living. Immediately after speaking of the sacrifice of praise, the Letter to the Hebrews continues: “Do not neglect to do good and to share what you have, for such sacrifices are pleasing to God” (13.16). According to Saint Paul, “your body is a temple of the Holy Spirit within you, which you have from God. You are not your own; you were bought with a price. So glorify God in your body” (1 Cor 6.18-20; cf. 2 Cor 6.16-7.1). Conversely, the Apostle identifies sin with idolatry in Romans 1.18-32, Colossians 3.5, and Ephesians 5.5. The most classical of the texts on ethical sacrifice, however, is probably Romans 12.1f: “I appeal to you therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, to present your bodies as a living sacrifice (θυσίαν), holy and acceptable to God, which is your spiritual worship (λογικὴν λατρείαν). Do not be conformed to this world but be transformed by the renewal of your mind, that you may prove what is the will of God, what is good and acceptable and perfect.” Preaching has its part to play in the renewing of minds to discern the will of God for the living of lives acceptable to God. The transformation of the believer means an end to conformity with this world. Ethically distinguishable behavior contributes to the Christian witness in a pagan environment. John Chrysostom, who often exhorted his hearers to works of charity, would doubtless have approved of the use of Matthew 5.16 at the almsgiving in the communion office of the English Book of Common Prayer: “Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven.” There we move into the area of what contemporary Orthodox theology has started to call

¹² *Homilies on the Psalms* 134. 1: καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ὁμοῦ τε εἰς τὸν Θεὸν εὐφημία, ὁμοῦ τε τοῖς ἄδουσι διδασκαλίας ὑπόθεσις, καὶ τὸν βίον ρυθμίζουσα, καὶ πρὸς δογμάτων ἀκρίβειαν. χειραγωγούσα (PG 55. 388).

“the liturgy after the Liturgy.”¹³

For the moment, however, we must return to the Liturgy itself and consider the anamnestic moment of preaching.

The Anamnestic Character of Preaching

The earthly Church needs constantly to be reminded of the gospel on which it is founded and which continues to shape its life. That gospel is embodied in the teaching, person, and work of Jesus Christ, the incarnate Word of God and now the exalted Lord; and the definitive written testimony to the gospel is contained in the prophetic books of the Old Testament and the apostolic books of the New. The Scriptures continue to be read in church; and in and through their reading, as Chrysostom recognizes, the Lord makes himself present.¹⁴ But just as the Incarnation itself and the provision of the Scriptures represent a divine condescension and accommodation to the human condition, so a further *συνκατάβασις* takes place in the preaching. For while the Scriptures are, Chrysostom holds, in themselves perspicuous, yet human slowness to understand requires the Lord to speak even through the interpretative words of the preacher.¹⁵

The first task of the preacher, as far as his human audience is concerned, is to expound the Scriptures in their witness to Christ. Modern people will sympathize with Chrysostom's stress—typical of the Antiochene school of exegesis—on the historical sense of the text. Post-modernists will perhaps welcome his recognition, from time to time, that the historical sense may itself have been metaphorical from the first. What will scare our critical scholars in their concern for a narrowly conceived academic integrity is the patristic insistence that faith, prayer, and conversion, as well as careful study, are necessary for the understanding of the Scriptures: “Both a thorough search and persistent prayer are needed,” Chrysostom tells the expositor;¹⁶ and he requires of the congregation that

¹³See Ion Bria (ed.), *Martyria/Mission: The Witness of the Orthodox Churches Today* (Geneva, 1980), pp. 66-71.

¹⁴For Christ's presence in and through the readings, see the references given in the next article, notes 6, 7, 11-14, and the many texts listed by Kaczynski, p. 34, notes 49-51.

¹⁵For Chrysostom's “high” view of the preacher as speaking the word of God, see Kaczynski, pp. 283-86. On the need for a preacher, see *Homily 3. 4 on the Second Letter to the Thessalonians*: *Τί γὰρ χρεια ὁμιλητοῦ; ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμετέρας ῥαθυμίας αὐτὴ ἡ χρεια γέγονε. Διὰ τί γὰρ ὁμιλίας χρεια; πάντα σαφὴ καὶ εὐθέα τὰ παρὰ ταῖς Θεαῖς Γραφαῖς, πάντα τὰ ἀναγκαῖα δῆλα* (PG 62. 485). In the new covenant prophesied by Jeremiah, even the Scriptures ought not to have been necessary, given the writing of the Holy Spirit on the hearts of Christians: so opined Chrysostom on beginning his exposition of the first book of the New Testament (*Homily 1. 1 on Matthew*; PG 57. 13-15).

¹⁶*Homily 21 (20). 1 on John*: *δεῖ μὲν ἐρεῦνης ἀκριβοῦς, δεῖ δὲ καὶ εὐχῆς ἐκτενοῦς*

that they first confess their sins, for otherwise their eye of faith will be dimmed and their ears blocked for the hearing of the Word of God.¹⁷ Certainly the preacher himself must go on learning from the Scriptures,¹⁸ just as Timothy needed to continue learning from Saint Paul.¹⁹ But he will not do this in an isolated way. Doubtless the preacher will spend time in private preparation of his sermon; but it will be as one who participates regularly in the liturgy and is steeped in its spirit, and as one who must deliver the sermon precisely in the framework of the liturgy. I have elsewhere argued in detail that the liturgy is the connatural context for the interpretation of the Scriptures.²⁰ So much of the Bible originated in the worship of Israel and of the primitive Church. It was, above all, their reading in church which secured the recognition of these particular writings as canonical. It is only by their continued use in the worship of the Church that the Scriptures have retained their status as holy books rather than now being treated, if at all, as more or less interesting pieces of ancient literature. The worshipping community supplies a living continuity down the centuries for transmitting the great images and themes of the Scriptures which might otherwise have become unintelligible through external cultural changes. The constant features and qualitative wholeness of the liturgy also provide the stability and unity within which to come to terms with the highly diverse material of the Bible.

John Chrysostom was in fact deeply concerned for the integrity of the Bible. Selective exegesis was the mark of heretics.²¹ He himself delighted in drawing instruction from the seemingly most unlikely passages of Scripture. He aimed at making his hearers familiar with the biblical material. He complained that some of them knew the names of the horses at the local race-track better than the names of the churches to which Saint Paul

(PG 59. 127); cf. *Homily 6, 1 on Matthew*: πολλῆς ἡμῖν δεῖ τῆς ἀγρυπνίας, πολλῶν τῶν εὐχῶν (PG 57. 61).

¹⁷*On David and Saul, Homily 3. 2* (PG 54. 696); *On I Saw the Lord, Homily 6. 1* (PG 56. 135); *Homily 15. 5 on Genesis* (PG 53. 125); *Homily 13 (1). 1 on John* (PG 59. 87); cf. *On the Change of Name, Homily 1. 1*: ψυχῆς δὲ ἀνθρωπίνης οὐδὲν οὕτω τεκμήριον, ὥς τῶν θείων ἐρῶν λογίων. ὥσπερ οὐδὲν οὕτω κτηνῶδους καὶ ἀλόγου ψυχῆς δείγμα καὶ σημεῖον, ὥς τῶν θείων ὑπερορῶν λογίων (PG 51. 114).

¹⁸*Homily 5. 1 on I Timothy*: Τὸν γὰρ διδάσκαλον πρότερον ἑαυτοῦ χρη εἶναι διδάσκαλον (PG 62. 527); cf. *Homily 13. 1 on I Timothy* (PG 62. 565); *Homilies on Psalms 49. 6*: οὐδὲν ὄφελος τοῦ διδάσκειν ἑτέρους, ὅταν τις ἑαυτὸν πρότερον λαβὼν μὴ διδάσκη (PG 55. 249f; with a reference to Romans 2.21-23).

¹⁹*On I Timothy*, introd. (PG 62. 504); *Homily 5. 1 on I Timothy* (PG 62. 527); *Homily 4. 1 on 2 Timothy* (PG 62. 619).

²⁰G. Wainwright, *Doxology* (New York, 1980), chapter 5.

²¹See Kaczynski, pp. 144ff.

wrote his epistles.²² In discovering the riches of the Scriptures the congregation needed to cooperate with the preacher. The preacher digs for the hidden treasures, draws the water from the well, prepares the table and offers the food and drink, sows the seed.²³ The congregation must come hungering and thirsting, must prepare the ground and allow the fruit to grow in their lives, must put what they have acquired to work with interest.²⁴

This devotion to the entirety of Scripture and the determination to exploit it in every part nevertheless raises certain questions. By Chrysostom's time it appears that certain biblical passages or books had become traditional reading at appropriate feasts or seasons; but at other periods of the year and on other occasions it was the preacher's choice of text which determined the public lessons.²⁵ This latter responsibility has been much prized in some Protestant circles; but while the circumstances of a congregation or an event in its life can call for an appropriate text from Scripture, there is a real danger that the congregation's exposure to the Bible will be limited to a particular preacher's preferred passages, perhaps idiosyncratically interpreted. Protestant moves towards the long-standing practice in the more catholic churches of following a lectionary cycle are therefore welcome. Lectionaries themselves, however, do not drop down directly from heaven, and their choice of texts is not immutable. Luther's key to the Scriptures—"was Christum treibt," "that which promotes Christ"—has not only an objective side to it but also a more subjective: it appears that in different times and places, different parts of Scripture serve better than others to advance Christ. After the thoroughgoing revisions of the lectionaries in the Roman and other Western churches in the past two decades, which were much influenced by the biblical theology movement of the 1950s, it is interesting that the 1977 Prague consultation on "The Role and Place of the Bible in the Liturgical and Spiritual Life of the Orthodox Church" should declare an openness to the "examination of possible changes in the pericope of evangelical and apostolic readings prescribed for Sundays and feasts of the year. For in these days multitudes of God's people assemble who, because of the incompleteness and monotony of the pericope, are deprived of the possibility to listen to the Word of God and its interpretation in its fullness."²⁶ It is not only a question of the amount of Scripture that can be absorbed over a recur-

²²*Greet Priscilla and Aquila Homily* 1. 1 (PG 51. 187f); cf. *Letter to the Romans*, introd. 1 (PG 60. 391).

²³For the respective images, see Kaczynski, pp. 48-53; 56; 57f, 162-66; 166-68.

²⁴For the various images, see Kaczynski, pp. 231; 168-72; 162.

²⁵See Kaczynski, pp. 80-89.

²⁶See Ion Bria (ed.), *Martyria/Mission* (Geneva, 1980), p. 235f.

ring cycle of time. It is also—if I may say so as a preacher—a matter of the *combination* of the readings from the various parts of Scripture; for new juxtapositions can cause freshly illuminating sparks to fly among the appointed texts.

In this second section of the lecture we have been concentrating on the preacher's business with the Scriptures in their witness to the historic self-revelation of God in Jesus Christ; but this irreversible given is only one pole in the hermeneutical ellipse. The preacher must interpret the gospel *in the present situation*. The Word needs the vivifying Spirit. Anamnesis requires epiclesis.

The Epikletic Character of Preaching

The preacher's connection with the Scriptures and his connection with the present situation are different in kind and in quality. He is *bound* to the Scriptures but he need only *refer* to the present situation. The German allows a neat distinction between *Wortgebundenheit* and *Situationsbezogenheit*. If, as Karl Barth hinted, one almost has to preach with the Bible in one hand and the newspaper in the other,²⁷ yet there is no doubt that the Bible weighs heavier than even an American Sunday newspaper. No single sermon can conceivably count as much as the definitive witness to Christ in the Scriptures. No human situation has the permanence of the Word of God. Nevertheless the same Holy Spirit who rested upon the incarnate Son and who presided over the composition of the Scriptures is appropriately invoked upon the preacher and his sermon.

Saint John Chrysostom more than once recalls the gift of the Holy Spirit which the preaching presbyter has received through the laying on of hands at his ordination.²⁸ He takes the exchange of greetings between preacher and people at the start of the sermon to echo that gift: "The Lord be with you"/"And with thy spirit."²⁹ Chrysostom frequently begs his congregation to pray for their preacher.³⁰ The people's prayer for the preacher is finally to their own advantage, since his words are intended

²⁷K. Barth, *The Epistle to the Romans* (ET London, 1933), p. 425; *Dogmatics in Outline* (ET New York, 1959), p. 33. Barth's point in the first context is the closeness to life, in the second the need for a translation from "the language of Canaan."

²⁸*On Lazarus* 7. 1: εἰς τοῦτο ἐτάχθημεν παρὰ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριτος (PG 48. 1046). In *Homily* 3. 5 *on Letter to the Hebrews*, Chrysostom speaks of the χάρισμα διδασκαλικόν (PG 63. 34). See Kaczynski, pp. 113, 119.

²⁹Rather wistfully at *Homily* 36. 4 *on 1 Corinthians*: Διὸ ἐπειδὴν ἀρξώμεθα λέγειν, ὁ λαὸς ἀντιφθέγγεται, τῷ Πνεύματι σου, δεικνὺς ὅτι τὸ παλαιὸν οὕτως ἔλεγον, οὐκ οἰκεία σοφία, ἀλλὰ τῷ Πνεύματι κινούμενοι. 'Ἄλλ' οὐχὶ νῦν' τὸ ἑαυτοῦ λέγω τέως (PG 61. 312); cf. *Homily* 1. 4 *on Holy Pentecost* (PG 50. 458) and *Homily* 3. 4 *on Letter to the Colossians* (PG 62. 322f). See Kaczynski, pp. 127-129.

³⁰*Homily on When He Was Ordained Presbyter*, 1f (PG 48. 693f, 696). For the

for them.³¹ The Holy Spirit's help is needed in order to discern *which* word from Scripture needs to be proclaimed at a particular time, and in order that it may be preached with a power that transcends human words (cf. 1 Thess 1. 5).

Effective preaching to a concrete situation demands a "reading" of that situation. Here the cooperation between preacher and people is most valuable. Since Pentecost, there is a sense in which all the Lord's people have indeed become prophets (cf. Num 11. 29). The faithful have the responsibility to read "the signs of the times" (Mt 16. 2f; cf. Lk 12. 54-56). Through their very multiplicity and variety, believers have the opportunity to penetrate to levels and areas of human society which cannot be reached by the individual preacher or even by a whole college of preachers. By a service of information and discussion, all the members of the Church can help their preacher to see the straws in the wind, the smoke that betokens a fire. The preacher then has the responsibility of bringing the word of God to bear on the great issues of the age, particularly as they affect the company of believers. John Chrysostom's series of sermons after the storming of the statues by the turbulent population of Antioch in 387 may serve as an example of sound pastoral advice in a difficult political situation. He was later removed from the see of Constantinople when he incurred the displeasure of the Empress Eudoxia by rebuking her imperial conduct.

Times may change, but the joys and sorrows, the hopes and fears of human beings remain fairly constant. Like many less important figures in the history of the Church, Chrysostom was subjected to the complaint that, though he was a fine preacher, he failed to visit his people. What a preacher lacks in rhetorical skills may often be made up in sensitive pastoral care. That experience, in which the Holy Spirit is also present, will likely enhance the preacher's power to touch hearts and minds with a simple statement of the gospel. To interpret a difficult world for a troubled soul is often to change that world by the transfiguring light of God's kingdom.

That brings us, finally, to the eschatological character of preaching. Appropriately enough for matters eschatological, time presses; and I must now be brief.

The Eschatological Character of Preaching

IN AN ESSAY "Towards a Catholic use of hermeneutics," Edward

continuing practice, see Kaczynski, p. 129, notes 297 and 298.

³¹ *Homily 4. 3 on 2 Thessalonians*: 'Ανοίξατε τὸ στόμα ἡμῖν, ἵνα μὴ ἐμφράττηται' παρακαλεῖτε τὸν Θεόν, παρακαλεῖτε διὰ τοῦτο. Ἔστι μὲν οὖν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τὸ γινόμενον, τὸ δὲ πᾶν ὑπὲρ ὧν γίνεται' εἰς γὰρ τὸ ὑμῖν χρήσιμον κείμεθα, καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερα μεριμνῶμεν (PG 62. 490).

Schillebeeckx has criticized Bultmann for treating the Bible as simply a text, a closed *depositum*, on which we draw again and again in the narrow point of the present for the existential possibilities it expresses. The Flemish Dominican writes:

Everything to which the Bible bears witness is directed towards the fulfillment in the future of God's promise, the history of which has been narrated in faith in the Bible. It is possible to express our understanding of the Bible in this way: we should not look back at the Bible, but rather look forward, with the Bible, to a future which is given us to be achieved—to be achieved, but also *given us* to be achieved.... What biblical interpretation "points to"...must be orthodoxy (the correct interpretation of the promise insofar as it has already been realized in the past) as the basis of orthopraxis whereby the promise realizes a new future in us. It is only in the sphere of action—of doing in the faith—that orthodox interpretation can be inwardly fulfilled.... There certainly is a "deposit of faith," but its content still remains, on the basis of the promise already realized in Christ (realized in fact, but nonetheless still really a *promise*), a promise-for-us, with the result that interpretation becomes orientated to praxis. The Bible reminds us of God's faithfulness in the past, precisely in order to arouse our confidence in God's faithfulness in the future.³²

In the anaphora of Saint John Chrysostom, the *anamnesis* opens out to the final advent of Christ and the fullness of the divine kingdom:

We therefore, remembering this saving commandment and all the things that were done for us: the cross, the tomb, the resurrection on the third day, the ascension into heaven, the session at the right hand, the second and glorious coming again; offering you your own from your own, in all and through all: we offer you also this reasonable and bloodless sacrifice, and we beseech and pray and entreat you, send down your Holy Spirit on us and on these gifts set forth; and make this bread the precious body of your Christ, changing it by your Holy Spirit, and that which is in this cup the precious blood of your Christ, changing it by your Holy Spirit, so that they may become to those who partake for vigilance of soul, for forgiveness of sins, for fellowship with the Holy Spirit, for the fulness of the

³²E. Schillebeeckx, *God the Future of Man* (London, 1969), pp. 1-49, in particular p. 36f.

kingdom, for boldness towards you, and not for judgment or for condemnation.³³

John Chrysostom the preacher was well aware of the trinitarian origins of the teaching office. The preacher is called by God to a ministry stemming from Christ, into which one is set by the Holy Ghost.³⁴ As the herald and ambassador of God, the preacher has the task of building up the faith of the eucharistic community to the glory of God. Through the eucharist, believers are sacramentally maintained in the communion of the Holy Spirit whom they received in their baptisms as the ἀπαβών of their promised inheritance. In the eucharistic communion they experience by anticipation the final παρουσία of Christ and enjoy a foretaste of the messianic banquet in the kingdom. In the anaphora they join with the whole company of heaven in worship before the throne of God.

At the last judgment, the preacher, priest and pastor will be called to account for their ministry.³⁵ Who is sufficient for these things? The preacher stands under the same Word as his hearers.³⁶ He must dare to hope that the grace of which he has been the unworthy minister will not be denied him either.

³³Translation from R. C. D. Jasper and G. J. Cuming, *Prayers of the Eucharist: Early and Reformed*, 2nd ed.(New York, 1980), p. 90.

³⁴See Kaczynski, p. 112f.

³⁵*Homily on the Ten Thousand Talents Owed* 4 (PG 51. 23).

³⁶See the references in note 18 above. Preachers and hearers are subject to the same law: *Homily on It is Dangerous for Those who Speak and Those who Listen*, 1 (PG 50. 654f); *On the Necessity of Continuous Gatherings*, 2 (PG 63. 463).

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REFLECTIONS ON THE DIVINE LITURGY

ALKIVIADIS CALIVAS

THE LIFE AND CHARACTER of an Orthodox Christian is in large measure shaped, nourished, and enriched by the liturgy (worship) of the Church. Replete with biblical readings, imagery, and expressions, the texts of the Liturgy set forth in doxological form the Church's authentic and living tradition. In the Liturgy the Orthodox Christian is in constant touch with the fundamental truths of the faith. The Liturgy becomes a theology of fervent prayer, a living sacrifice of praise of a biblical people, a kenotic lifting up of hearts and minds, a vision of the spiritual world, a betrothal with the Holy Spirit, and a foretaste of the things to come.

Paschal in character and essentially eschatological in spirit, the Liturgy, while rehearsing continuously the mighty works of God in history, celebrates joyously the kingdom of God already come and already given to us as the pledge of our salvation through the birth, death, and resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ.

The powers of the kingdom already experienced in the Church are manifested through the divine mysteries or sacraments offered in faith. It is through these, as through windows, that the risen Christ who is the Sun of Righteousness enters this dark world to put to death sin and corruption and introduce abiding and immortal life.¹ These mysteries are the gates of righteousness which manifest God's loving kindness and provide us with access to heaven.²

The Divine Liturgy or Eucharist is the central mystery of the Church. It is at once the source and the summit of her life. In it the Church is continuously changed from a human community to the Body of Christ, the Temple of the Holy Spirit, and the People of God. The Divine Liturgy, according to Nicholas Kabasilas, is the final and greatest of the mysteries,

since it is not possible to go beyond it or add anything to it. After the Eucharist there is nowhere further to go. There all must stand, and try to examine the means by which we may preserve the trea-

¹Nicholas Kabasilas, *The Life in Christ* 1.6.

²*Ibid.*

sure to the end. For in it we obtain God Himself, and God is united with us in the most perfect union.³

Every sacred mystery makes its partakers into members of Christ. But the Eucharist effects this most perfectly;

By dispensation of His grace, He [Christ] disseminates Himself in every believer through that flesh whose substance comes from bread and wine, blending Himself with the bodies of believers, to secure that, by this union with the Immortal, that man, too, may be a sharer in incorruption. He gives these gifts by virtue of the benediction through which He transelements the natural quality of these visible things to that immortal thing.⁴

The Divine Liturgy celebrates the inrush of eternal life into our perishable, mortal existence and the abolition of our deaths. Through the Eucharist divine life flows into us and penetrates the fabric of visible humanity. The future life is infused into the present one and blended with it, so that "our fallen humanity may be transformed into the glorified humanity of the new Adam, Christ." The Eucharist is our "medicine of immortality and the antidote against death, enabling us to live forever in Jesus Christ."⁵

Each Divine Liturgy is a continuation of the mystery of Pentecost. It is the renewal and the confirmation of the coming of the Holy Spirit who is ever present in the Church. According to a prayer of the Divine Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom: "Make us worthy to find grace in Your presence so that our sacrifice may be pleasing to You and that Your good and gracious Spirit may abide with us and with the gifts here presented and with all Your people."⁶ The worshipping community prays earnestly that it may continue to be Spirit-bearing ("send down Your Holy Spirit upon us and upon these gifts here presented")⁷ and that the consecrated gifts may become a "communion of the Holy Spirit, the fulfillment of the kingdom of heaven."⁸ Filled with the Holy Spirit, the faithful receive the pure mysteries of Holy Communion "for the forgiveness of sins and life eternal,"⁹ two gifts of divine love, so that they "may find mercy and grace with all the saints, who throughout the ages have been pleasing to [God]."¹⁰ Through the celebration of the Divine Liturgy, sin, corruption and death, the divisive and destructive powers of Satan, are abolished.

³Ibid. 4.1,3.

⁴Gregory of Nyssa, *Cat. Ora.* 37.

⁵Ignatios, *Ephes.* 20.

⁶Prayer of the Proskomide, *The Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom.*

⁷The Anaphora, *The Divine Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom*

⁸Ibid.

⁹The Orthodox Church's liturgical formula at the distribution of the Holy Gifts.

¹⁰The Anaphora *The Liturgy of Saint Basil.*

In the Eucharist all things are united with God. Creation, in the changed elements of the bread and wine, freed from the bondage of corruption, becomes itself Spirit-bearing.

In this present age between the two comings of Jesus Christ our Lord, the Divine Liturgy is always the messianic banquet, the meal of the kingdom, the time and the place in which the heavenly joins and mingles with the earthly. The Eucharist initiates humankind, nature, and time into the mystery of the uncreated Trinity. The Divine Liturgy is not simply a sacred drama or a mere representation of past events. It constitutes the very presence of God's embracing love, which purifies, enlightens, perfects, and deifies (2 Peter 1.4), all "those who are invited to the marriage supper of the Lamb" (Revelation 19.9), i.e., all who through baptism and chrismation have been incorporated into the Church and have become Christ-bearers and Spirit-bearers.

In the Divine Liturgy we do not commemorate one or another isolated event of sacred history. We celebrate, in joy and thanksgiving, the whole mystery of the divine economy from creation to incarnation, especially "the cross, the tomb, the resurrection on the third day, the ascension into heaven, the enthronement at the right hand of the Father and the second glorious coming."¹¹ Thus, in experiencing the reigning Christ in the Divine Liturgy, the past, present, and future of the history of salvation are lived as one reality in the mystery of the kingdom of God.

The Eucharist "is the flesh of our Savior Jesus Christ, the flesh which suffered for our sins and which the Father in His graciousness raised from the dead."¹² In it we are offered Christ's deified flesh, to which we are joined, in order to partake of divine life without confusion or division. In the Eucharist, Christ acts to make us His own Body: "The Bread of Life Himself changes him who feeds on Him and transforms and assimilates him into Himself."¹³ Thus, eternity penetrates our finitude. Men, women and children are invited to share in the trinitarian life of God: "by this flesh [of Christ in the Eucharist] our community is raised to heaven; that is where this Bread truly dwells; and we enter into the Holy of Holies by the pure offering of the Body of Christ."¹⁴ The life of the Trinity flows and dwells in us through "the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ and the Love of God the Father and the Communion of the Holy Spirit" (2 Corinthians 13-14) and we become God bearers.

The mystery of the Church as the Body of Christ is fully realized in the Divine Liturgy, for "the Eucharist is Christ crucified and risen, in His personal presence."¹⁵ Every local church, living in full the sacramental

¹¹The Anaphora, *The Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom*

¹²Ignatios, *Letter to the Smyrnaeans* 6

¹³Nicholas Kabasilas, *The Life in Christ* 4 8

¹⁴Gregory Palamas, *Homily* 56

¹⁵T. Stylianopoulos, "Holy Eucharist and Priesthood in the New Testament," *The Greek*

life, is the

miracle of the new life in Christ lived in community and is built upon and around the Table of the Lord. Whenever and wherever the Divine Liturgy is celebrated, in the context of doctrinal unity and canonical norms, the local church possesses the marks of the true Church of God: unity, holiness, catholicity, and apostolicity. These marks cannot belong to any human gathering; they are the eschatological signs given to a community through the Spirit of God.¹⁶

The Eucharist belongs to and is shared by those who have been baptized into the Church and who hold a common faith in the bond of love: "this food we call Eucharist, no one may share unless he *believes* that our teaching is true. . . and *lives* as Christ taught."¹⁷ Thus, only those Orthodox Christians in full communion with the Church may partake of the Holy Gifts. For the Orthodox Church, the Eucharist cannot be viewed as an instrument of achieving Christian unity, but is always the very sign, the crowning of that unity based on doctrinal truth and canonical harmony already held and professed in common.

The Eucharist unites the members of the Church, both to Christ and to one another: "because there is one bread, we who are many are one body, for we all partake of the one bread" (1 Corinthians 10.17).¹⁸ Sharing in the life of Christ and energized by the gifts of the Holy Spirit, the Church becomes an epiphany of love. "If union is in truth with Christ and with one another, we are assuredly also united voluntarily with all those who partake with us."¹⁹ The Eucharist becomes the vision and the image of true human life as God created it and intended it to become. Here the destructive powers of Satan are being continuously defeated and the life of selfless love is being revealed, learned, and experienced.²⁰ The Divine Liturgy makes manifest the true dimensions of the Christian life as "the way which leads from the multiplicity of corruption (that of individuals which divide humanity), towards the unity of the one, pure nature in which there is disclosed a new multiplicity; that of persons united to God in the Holy Spirit."²¹

Orthodox Theological Review 23 (1978) 121. See St. John of Damascus: "The bread and wine are not merely figures of the body and blood of Christ (God forbid!) but the deified body of the Lord itself," *Exposition of the Orthodox Faith*, 4.13.

¹⁶J. Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology* (New York, 1976) p. 209.

¹⁷Justin, *First Apology* 66.1.

¹⁸Cf. *Didache* 9.4 and Serapion, *Euchologion*, 13.

¹⁹John of Damascus, *Exposition of the Orthodox Faith* 4.13.

²⁰See J. Romanides, "Man and His True Life," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 1 (1954) 63ff.

²¹V. Lossky, *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church* (London, 1957) p. 182.

In and through the Divine Liturgy all are initiated to the depth and quality of the corporate life of the Church as a spiritual communion. Here we have a glimpse of the Church as an image of the Holy Trinity: "a single human nature in the hypostasis of Christ, many human hypostases in the grace of the Holy Spirit."²² The Eucharist Assembly becomes the image of the new humanity gathered around the risen Lord, empowered, nourished and perfected by His boundless love and rich mercy. As Saint Maximos the Confessor superbly puts it:

The men, women, and children coming into the Church reborn and recreated by her in the Spirit, are just about infinite in number; they are very different from each other in race and appearance; they are of all languages, life-styles and ages; there are great differences in their mentalities, customs and interests, their social station, their skills, and their professions; their fortunes, their characters, and their abilities are all very different, but the Church confers one and the same divine character and title equally on all: that they be, and be called, Christians. . . The holy Church is an image of God; it works the same unity in the faithful as God, even though the people unified in her through faith vary in their peculiarities and come from different places and different ways of life; it is God's nature to work this unity Himself in the substance of things, without fusing them; He softens down the diversity in them and unifies them, as has already been shown, through their relationship and union with Him, their cause, beginning and end.²³

The Church is both an eschatological and historical community. The historical, visible community is truly the Church, against which the powers of hell shall not prevail; but it is still located within time and space. It has not yet crossed the frontier separating us from the age to come. It is "part of the process whereby the Body gradually reaches completion so that the Head may become all in all through the action of the Holy Spirit and in accordance with the plan of salvation."²⁴ Through the Divine Liturgy the historical community actualizes itself, really and effectively, here and now as the "Body of Christ." It becomes "the progressive growth of god-manhood to the full stature of Christ."

On this side of death "the adversary, the devil, prowls around like a roaring lion, seeking someone to devour" (1 Peter 5.8). The members of the Church need to be vigilant, to struggle and to live in active expectation of the Parousia, the final resurrection, the judgment, and the life of

²²*Ibid.* p. 183.

²³*Maximos the Confessor, Mystagogia*, chap. 1.

²⁴C. Andronikof, "Assembly and Body of Christ: Identity or Distinction," in *Roles of the Liturgical Assembly*, trans. M.J. O'Connell (Denver, 1981), p. 17.

the age to come. They must grow continually in grace by conforming to the will of God and by being rooted ever more deeply in His life through prayers, repentance and the sacraments, in order to participate in His great and glorious promises: "life in immortality, joyousness in justice, truth and confidence, faith in truthfulness, continence in his holiness."²⁵ The Body of Christ is in a continuous process of becoming. Thus, the celebration of the Eucharist is central to the life of the Church because:

We are always in need of this divine flesh and constantly partake of the Table, so that the law of the Spirit might be active in us and that there be no place left for the life of the flesh, nor any opportunity to fall back to the earth, like heavy bodies when support is withdrawn. For the mystery [sacrament] is perfect for all purposes and its partakers stand in need of nothing which it does not supply in a most excellent way.²⁶

In the Divine Liturgy, divinity penetrates into the life of created persons. Uncreated grace is conferred upon created beings. Humankind partakes of the deified humanity of Christ.²⁷ The new creation takes on concrete, bodily expression. In this present life, the Church through the sacraments is the realm within which union with God takes place. The faithful participate in the continuous process of rebirth, renewal and sanctification, which will be fully consummated after the resurrection of the dead. The Eucharist is celebrated and received as the seed of eternal life, as the power that produces incorruptibility, "the betrothal of the future life and Kingdom," the safeguard and armor against the power of the enemy, the gift which enables us to bear fruit through witness and good works, and unites us with the saints, those who are alive and those who sleep in the hope of resurrection.

The Divine Liturgy is a corporate action of the whole people of God. The clergy and the laity together constitute the one, living, divine-human organism, the Body of Christ, the Church. Together they are "a chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, God's own people" (1 Peter 2.29). In the Holy Spirit all have access to Christ. The eucharistic assembly presupposes the presence and the active participation of clergy and laity, each with their own essential and distinctive ministry, role and function. Together they enter and penetrate into the depths of divine fire and light, according to the faith and grace given to them by God and according to the extent of their purity of heart.

²⁵Clement of Rome, *Epistle to the Corinthians* 35.

²⁶Nicholas Kabasilas, *The Life in Christ* 4 7.

²⁷See e.g., Cyril of Jerusalem, *Cat* 4.3 "that you, by partaking of the Body and Blood of Christ, might be made of the same body and same blood with Him. For thus we come to bear Christ in us, because His Body and Blood are diffused through our members; thus it is that, according to the blessed Peter, we become partakers of the divine nature" (2 Peter

But the one, true priest of the eucharistic Mystery is always Christ Himself: "For You, Christ our God, are the Offerer and the Offered, the One who receives and the One who is distributed. . . come and sanctify us. And let Your pure Body and precious Blood be given to us by Your mighty hand."²⁸ Through His perfect self-offering, Christ continues to unite fallen humanity to God and is the unique High Priest and Mediator of the new Covenant (Hebrews 9.11-15; 10.10). Both the royal priesthood of the believers and the special ordained priesthood have their sources in Christ the High Priest (Revelation 1.5-6).

The priestly ministry of Christ is perpetuated in the Church by the ordained priesthood, existing in three essential ministries: bishops, presbyters, and deacons. These are set apart by the grace of ordination to serve the Church, to preach, teach, and pastor the people of God; to celebrate the sacred mysteries; to preserve the right doctrine to keep the body united in the love of Christ. The bishop (or the priest) acts in the name of Christ. He is not a mediator separated from the laity, but the visible icon of Christ in the assembly. Therefore, he stands at the head of the Church to offer to God together with the whole Church, the worship of the Church. And it is the laity's gift to acknowledge, receive and seal all that is done through their "amen" and to make their own all that God offers to the Church through the ministry of the ordained priesthood.

1.4).

²⁸ *The Divine Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom.*

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Russia and Byzantium in the Mid-Tenth Century: The Problem of the Baptism of Princess Olga

DIMITRI OBOLENSKY

THE MID-TENTH CENTURY was a critical point in the relations between Russia and the Byzantine Empire. These relations had begun inauspiciously a hundred years earlier, in June 860, when a fleet of Viking ships from Kiev attacked the suburbs of Constantinople and besieged the city. During the first half of the tenth century the Russians launched three further campaigns against Byzantium. From a military point of view, none were successful. Some, however, were followed by peace treaties. Fortunately, the text of these agreements has been preserved and embedded in the Russian Primary Chronicle, the earliest document recording in a continuous narrative the history of the Russian people, which dates in its final form from the early twelfth century. These treaties show how the Varangian masters of Russia and their Slav subjects, through trade, diplomacy, and human contact, were drawn ever closer into the economic and political orbit of Byzantium. Christianity soon followed in the wake of these contacts. Russian merchants and mercenaries, and diplomatic envoys from both countries, travelling between Kiev and Constantinople, acted as carriers of new ideas, beliefs, and fashions.

The recorded beginnings of Christianity in Kiev go back to the sixties of the ninth century, to the years immediately following the Russian attack of 860. The history of this first bridgehead established by the Byzantine Church on Russian soil remains obscure. It was doubtless submerged, later in the ninth century, by a wave of paganism coming from Scandinavia and northern Russia. Yet it did not completely perish; and a chain of evidence suggests that a Christian community may have survived in Kiev, continuously or with brief interruptions, during the first half of the tenth century.

The situation began to change in 945, when Olga, the widow of Igor, Prince of Kiev, gained power in Russia. For the next twenty years she acted as regent for her young son, Svyatoslav. Olga was the first reliably attested Russian ruler to embrace Christianity. Yet her religious policy remained tentative and incomplete. The world of Christendom then

stood before Russia in the guise of two empires—the Byzantine and the German—both seeking the allegiance of this powerful country. The Western Empire, recently restored and organized by the Saxon kings of Germany, was embarking on a career of expansion in central, northern and eastern Europe; in the tenth century its spiritual partner, the Roman Church, scored some remarkable triumphs: the Christianization of the Baltic Slavs, the foundation of the bishopric of Prague, the conversion of Poland, and the spread of Christianity to Scandinavia. Western Christendom seemed to be advancing on Russia, in the wake of the German *Drang nach Osten*. The Eastern, or Byzantine, Empire held undisputed sway in eastern Europe, where it had converted the Balkan Slavs and part of the Hungarian nation, and had made several attempts to evangelize the Russians. Between these two Christian empires, Russia in the mid-tenth century, at a vital moment of her history, stood at the crossroads: was Byzantium or Rome to claim her final allegiance?

This dualism was mirrored in Olga's ecclesiastical policy. Almost simultaneously she was baptized into the Byzantine Church and asked for a Latin bishop and priests from Otto I of Germany. A German bishop was sent to Kiev; but Olga's influence was then on the wane and she was powerless to arrest the pagan reaction spearheaded by her son, Svyatoslav. The unwanted bishop had to return home.

And yet, although Olga was unable to impose her religion on her subjects at large, her relations with Byzantium paved the way for the eventual triumph of Byzantine Christianity in Russia in the reign of her grandson, Vladimir. She deserves the epithets given her by the Russian Primary Chronicle: "the precursor of the Christian land, the morning star before the sun, the dawn before the light."¹

This paper is concerned with one aspect of Olga's foreign policy: her relations with the Byzantine Empire. This, as I hope to show, is a subject that touches directly on two other questions of major historical importance: the time and place of Olga's baptism and Kievan Russia's international stance in the mid-tenth century.

THE JOURNEY TO CONSTANTINOPLE of Princess Olga of Kiev, and the related question of where and when she was baptized, have long been the subject of scholarly debate.² The last fifteen years, in particular, have

¹*Povest' vremennykh let*, ed. V. P. Adrianova-Peretts and D.S. Likhachev, (Moscow-Leningrad, 1950), 1, p. 49. Hereafter *Povest'*; English trans. S.H. Cross and O.P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor: *The Russian Primary Chronicle* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), p. 86. Hereafter Cross.

²See the survey (with bibliography) in M.V. Levchenko, *Ocherki po istorii russko-vizantiiskikh otnosheniy* (Moscow, 1956), pp. 223-34; G.G. Litavrin, "Puteshestvie russkoy knyagini Ol'gi v Konstantinopol'. Problema istochnikov," *Vizantiyskiy Vremennik*, 42 (1981) 35-48.

seen a renewed interest in this problem. No less than five major studies have been devoted to it: substantial articles by George Ostrogorsky,³ by the French medievalist J.P. Arrignon,⁴ by the Greek historian B. Feidas,⁵ and by the Soviet scholars A.N. Sakharov⁶ and G.G. Litavrin.⁷

Ostrogorsky starts from the problem of sources, a problem which, in his somewhat understated words, presents 'a certain methodological interest.'⁸ The problem can be defined as follows: three medieval sources, clearly independent of each other—the Russian Primary Chronicle, the Latin Chronicle of Adalbert of St. Maximin (the Continuator of the Abbot Regino of Prüm) and the eleventh-century Byzantine chronicler, John Skylitzes—all assert that Olga was baptized in Constantinople. On the other hand, the 'Book of Ceremonies of the Byzantine Court,' which includes a detailed account of Olga's reception in the Byzantine capital in 957, compiled or at least edited a year or so later⁹ by the same Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos who acted as her host, does not so much as mention her baptism. To which are we to attach greater importance: to the combined evidence of three independent and near-contemporary sources (Russian, Latin, and Byzantine) testifying to Olga's baptism in Constantinople; or to the negative evidence of the one contemporary source where, had this baptism occurred, one would expect to find it mentioned? Ostrogorsky favours the argument 'from silence,' and believes that the negative evidence of the 'Book of Ceremonies' excludes the possibility that Olga was baptized in Constantinople. In his opinion, she was already a Christian when she arrived in the Byzantine capital, having been baptized a few years earlier in Kiev.

³G. Ostrogorsky, "Vizantiya i Kievskaya knyaginya Ol'ga," in *To Honor Roman Jakobson* (The Hague-Paris, 1967), 2, pp. 1458-73; German trans. in the same author's "Byzanz und die Kiewer Fürstin Olga," *Byzanz und die Welt der Slawen* (Darmstadt, 1974), pp. 35-52.

⁴J.-P. Arrignon, "Les relations internationales de la Russie kiévienne au milieu du X^e siècle et le baptême de la princesse Olga," *Occident et Orient au X^e siècle: Publications de l'Université de Dijon*, 57 (1979), 167-84. Russian translation (slightly adapted): "Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniya Kievskoy Rusi v seredine X v. i kreshchenie Knyagini Ol'gi," *Vizantiisky Vremennik*, 41 (1980), 113-24.

⁵B. Φειδᾶς, "Ἡ ἡγεμονία τοῦ Κιέβου Ὀλγα-Ἐλένη (945-964) μεταξύ Ἀνατολῆς καὶ Δύσεως," *Ἑπετηρίς Ἐταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*, 39/40 (1972-73) 630-50.

⁶A.N. Sakharov, "Diplomatiya knyagini Ol'gi," *Voprosy Istorii*, 10 (1979) 25-51; idem, *Diplomatiya Drevney Rusi. IX - pervaya polovina X v.* (Moscow, 1980), pp. 259-98.

⁷G.G. Litavrin, "Puteshestvie russkoy knyagini Ol'gi v Konstantinopol'. Problema istochnikov," *Vizantiisky Vremennik*, 42 (1981) 35-48.

⁸Ostrogorsky, "Vizantiya i Kievskaya knyaginya Ol'ga," pp. 1459-60; "Byzanz und die Kiewer Fürstin Olga," pp. 36-37.

⁹Constantin VII Porphyrogénète, *Le Livre des Cérémonies: Commentaire*, (Paris, 1935), 1, p. xxvii.

B. Feidas, by contrast, attributes decisive importance to the unanimous evidence of the Primary Chronicle, the Continuator of Regino, and Skylitzes, and believes that Olga was baptized in Constantinople in 957. In his view, however, the principal aim of her journey was commercial, not religious. The regent of Russia, he believes, wished to extend the trading privileges earlier granted by the Byzantine government to the Russian merchants. As for the vexed question of the purpose of the embassy which Olga dispatched in 959 to Otto I, Feidas rejects the view of those historians who believe that she hoped to obtain from the German king (later emperor) an independent church hierarchy, which it is alleged, the Byzantines had refused to grant her. In Feidas' view, Olga's embassy to Otto I pursued 'purely political' aims, the principal one being to conclude a military alliance against the Magyars, who were then threatening Kievan Russia, Germany and Byzantium.¹⁰

J.-P. Arrignon is mainly concerned with the problem of the time and place of Olga's baptism. He believes, together with Ostrogorsky, that had she been baptized in Constantinople in 957 Constantine VII would undoubtedly have mentioned it. Unlike Ostrogorsky, however, he considers that she was baptized *after* her visit to Constantinople. As arguments he adduces the fact that in the 'Book of Ceremonies' Olga is described by her pagan name, Elga (Ἐλγα), and not by her Christian name, Helen, and also the general impression which he derives from this account that Constantine regarded her as a pagan princess. Arrignon believes that she could well have become a Christian in Kiev at the end of 959, after the death of Constantine VII, in the reign of his son Romanos II, at a time when the Byzantine plans for the reconquest of Crete were probably accompanied by diplomatic negotiations aimed at securing the aid of Russian mercenaries. As for Olga's two embassies—to Constantinople in 957 and to Germany in 959—the first in his view was caused by the change of direction in Byzantine diplomacy north of the Black Sea, according to which the Russians were to replace the Pechenegs as guardians of the Empire's interests in that sector, while the second embassy aimed to conclude a commercial treaty between Russia and German Reich similar to the treaties concluded in the tenth century between the rulers of Kiev and Byzantium.

A.N. Sakharov discusses Olga's journey to Constantinople against the background of the developing diplomatic relations of the Russian state in the middle of the tenth century. In his view Russo-Byzantine relations were affected in this period by three basic factors: the terms of the Russo-Byzantine treaty of 944; Russia's 'official' conversion to Christianity (still to come); and the international prestige of the Russian state

¹⁰Feidas, "Ἡγεμονίς," pp. 645-46. Feidas' reference to the Magyars is unfortunate: four years after their defeat at the battle of the Lech by Otto I they were not capable of threatening anyone.

and its rulers. Sakharov considers at some length the story, told in the Russian Primary Chronicle, of Olga's alleged baptism in Constantinople, a story loaded with improbable, humorous and at times outrageously chauvinistic details. The Emperor Constantine, we are asked by the Russian chronicler to believe, was so struck by Olga's beauty and intelligence that he conceived a plan to marry her. The cunning Russian princess, aware of his designs, promptly demanded to be baptized and persuaded him to be her godfather; and the unsuspecting emperor fell into the trap. When, on emerging from the baptismal font, Olga was offered the emperor's hand, she was able to point out tartly that such a marriage was contrary to the Christian law; to which the defeated emperor had no option but to reply: 'You have outwitted me, Olga.'¹¹ Despite the presence of these manifest fictional details, Sakharov is at pains to point out that the account in the Primary Chronicle does have a sound historical kernel; and although he nowhere states this unambiguously, he seems to believe that the Russian princess was baptized in Constantinople.

G.G. Litavrin devotes his article to a critical study of the relevant sources. These he divides into three groups: the Russian (represented by the Primary Chronicle, and the 'Memory and Eulogy of Prince Vladimir' by James the Monk); the Latin (i.e. the chronicle of Adalbert); and the Byzantine (i.e. the Book of Ceremonies and the chronicle of Skylitzes). His conclusions regarding the Russian documents are similar to those of Arrignon. The Primary Chronicle dates Olga's baptism to the year 6463 A.M. (September 954-August 955 A.D.). James the Monk, on the other hand, states that she lived after her baptism for fifteen years and died on 11 July 6477 (969 A.D.). Some scholars have attached great importance to the fact that these two sources are in virtually complete agreement on the date of her baptism. In fact, however, this coincidence is of minor importance, since one of these sources could well be dependent on the other, and as both Arrignon and Litavrin rightly observe, there is no way of confirming the accuracy of the figure 'fifteen' in James' statement. The evidence of the 'Memory and Eulogy of Prince Vladimir' on Olga's baptism must hence be treated with caution.

Turning to the evidence of the Continuator of Regino, Litavrin concludes that Olga was baptized before she dispatched her embassy to Otto I; more precisely, before her envoys arrived in Germany during 959. The statement of Skylitzes that she was baptized in Constantinople he views with scepticism, since this tradition (which appears likewise in the Russian and Latin documents) could be based on confusion arising out of the chronological proximity of two different events—her journey to Constantinople and her baptism. Litavrin's conclusion is that she

¹¹ *Povest'*, p. 44; Cross, p. 82.

'apparently' made the decision to become a Christian during her stay in Constantinople. He provides, in addition, a most useful analysis of the fifteenth chapter of the second book of the 'Book of Ceremonies,' which describes the reception in Constantinople of Olga and of three Arab rulers, the emir of Tarsos, the emir of Melitene, and the khalife of Cordoba. Finally, we should note that Litavrin shows considerable caution in approaching the question of the time and place of Olga's baptism. This question, he notes in the concluding passage of his article, should be examined in the broader context of Russo-Byzantine relations in this period.

This aim is beyond the scope of my paper. Its purpose is more modest: to show that Olga was still a pagan when she left Constantinople, and that her baptism should be dated to a time after the autumn of 957 when, it must be assumed, she was back in Kiev.

This is not a novel view. It was held by several Russian pre-revolutionary historians,¹² and was recently put forward, though briefly, by J.-P. Arrignon. G.G. Litavrin, without committing himself very explicitly, seems inclined to this view also. I believe that a number of new arguments can be found to support this hypothesis.

One should admit, I think, first of all that since Ostrogorsky's article of 1967 it has been very difficult to defend the view that Olga was baptized in Constantinople in 957. He has argued, convincingly in my view, that in this question the silence of the 'Book of Ceremonies' is a key argument. He has also disproved the view of some historians that this treatise of Constantine Porphyrogenitos, being a practical guide to court ceremonial, had no reason to mention so particular and exceptional an event as the baptism of the ruler of Russia. In Ostrogorsky's view, Olga was already a Christian when she visited Constantinople, and was baptized in Kiev in 954 or 955. He bases his views on three main arguments:

(1) The presence, attested in the 'Book of Ceremonies,' in her retinue of a priest named Gregory (ὁ παπᾶς Γρηγόριος) whom Ostrogorsky considers to have been her chaplain.

(2) The virtually total agreement between the Russian Primary Chronicle and the 'Memory and Eulogy of Prince Vladimir' on the date of Olga's baptism (954-955).

(3) The details of Olga's reception in Constantinople which, in Ostrogorsky's opinion, show that she was treated by her Byzantine hosts with quite exceptional consideration and honour. These details are given in the fifteenth chapter of Book 2 of the 'Book of Ceremonies.'¹³ The

¹²E.g. V. Parkhomenko, *Nachalo khristianstva Rusi* (Poltava, 1913), pp. 126-29. Cf. Levchenko, *Ocherki*, pp. 224-9.

¹³Constantine Porphyrogenitos, *De caerimoniis aulae byzantinae*, ed. J.J. Reiske (Bonn, 1829), I, 594-98. Hereafter *De caerim.*

day (Wednesday, 9 September) began with two formal audiences at which she was received, standing together with some of her retinue, first by the emperor and then by the empress. There followed a more informal meeting when she sat in the company of the emperor and his family, and spoke to the emperor 'of whatever she wished' (ὅσα ἐβούλετο). Later that day a banquet was held in her honour, at which she was invited to sit at the empress' table together with the highest ranking ladies-in-waiting. To emphasize still further these exceptional marks of respect, the text of the 'Book of Ceremonies' states that on entering the banquet hall her female companions paid their respects to the empress and her daughter-in-law by prostrating themselves to the ground (προσκυνησάντων), while Olga confined herself to slightly bending her head (τὴν κεφαλὴν μικρὸν ὑποκλίναςα). In Ostrogorsky's view these marks of special respect—not least the informal meeting with the emperor and the invitation to sit at the empress' table with the highest ranking ladies of the Empire—show that "the regent of Russia, having accepted Christianity, having become the spiritual daughter of the Byzantine empress, and joined the family of Christian rulers over which the emperor presided, took an honorable position in the Byzantine hierarchical system."¹⁴

It seems to me, however, that none of Ostrogorsky's arguments prove that Olga was a Christian when she visited Constantinople. Let us consider each of them briefly.

(1) The presence of the priest Gregory in her party can be explained in different ways. The Byzantine authorities, who were clearly interested in the conversion of the regent of Russia, may have sent him to Kiev in the hope of persuading her to travel for this purpose to Constantinople. It would have been natural for Gregory, were he entrusted with such a task, to be included in the delegation which travelled with Olga from Kiev to Constantinople. There is yet another possibility: Gregory may have belonged to the group of specially qualified clerical diplomats, whom the Byzantine government often used to conduct delicate negotiations with neighboring states; in this case he could well have been entrusted with the task of preparing the agenda for the political discussions which the Byzantine government planned to have with Olga in Constantinople.¹⁵

(2) The chronological data of the Russian sources relating to Olga's baptism, as I have already suggested, should be treated with caution. This applies equally to the Primary Chronicle and to the 'Memory and Eulogy of Prince Vladimir.'

(3) The marks of respect, shown to Olga by Constantine Porphyrogenitos and his family, have no specifically Christian features.

¹⁴Ostrogorsky, "Vizantiya i Kievskaya knyaginya Ol'ga," p. 1471; "Byzanz und die Kiewer Fürstin Olga," p. 50.

¹⁵Arrignon, "Les relations internationales," p. 172; "Mezhdunarodnye ot-nosheniya," p. 119.

All of them can be explained within the context of purely secular relations between Byzantium and the Kievan state. There are, indeed, cogent reasons for supposing that the purpose of Olga's journey to Constantinople in 957 was primarily commercial and political. The very composition of her party is evidence of this. It included her nephew and other relatives, her retainers and those of her son, Svyatoslav, twenty or twenty-two envoys of other princes of Russia (οἱ ἀποκρισιάριοι τῶν ἀρχόντων Ῥωσίας) and forty-three or forty-four merchants.¹⁶ The character of this impressive delegation is hardly compatible with the theory that Olga journeyed to the Byzantine capital in order to be baptized. However, its size and composition become completely intelligible if we recognize that she pursued quite definite commercial and political aims. She presumably discussed them with the emperor during her first audience with him. It is possible that she requested some changes in the clauses of the Russo-Byzantine treaty of 944, less favorable to the Russians than the previous treaty of 911.¹⁷ It is probable, as Arrignon supposes, that the two parties discussed on the same occasion the terms of a new political and military alliance between Kiev and Byzantium. And it is also not impossible that Olga hoped to arrange a marriage between her son, Svyatoslav, and a daughter of Constantine VII. Indeed, such matrimonial schemes may well be reflected, in a fictional and chauvinistic form, in the Primary Chronicle's story of the wooing of Olga by Constantine VII.¹⁸

There is no doubt that a military alliance with the powerful Kievan realm would have been of great benefit to the Byzantine Empire, which was then waging an intensive war on its eastern frontier against the Arabs. An extremely valuable piece of evidence comes from the contemporary Arab writer, Abu Firas, a cousin of the Empire's principal enemy on the eastern front, the formidable emir of Aleppo, Saif-ad-Daulah. In 958, he tells us, after the Byzantines had fought several battles against the forces of Saif-ad-Daulah and vainly attempted to conclude a truce with him, "Constantine, the son of Leo, emperor of the Romans (*Rum*), began peace negotiations with the neighboring peoples . . . he signed peace agreements with the rulers of the Bulgarians, the Russians, the Turks, (i.e. the Hungarians), the Franks and other nations, and *requested help from them*."¹⁹ "Help" from the Russians, as we know

¹⁶The lower figures are given for Olga's first reception, the higher ones for the second reception: *De caerim.*, pp. 597-8.

¹⁷See V.V. Mavrodin, *Obrazovanie drevnerusskogo gosudarstva* (Leningrad, 1945), p. 254; Levchenko, *Ocherki*, pp. 230-1.

¹⁸Arrignon, "Les relations internationales," pp. 169, 173; "Mezhdunarodnye ot-nosheniya," pp. 118-20.

¹⁹A.A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes* (Brussels, 1950), 2, p. 368. The italics are mine. The importance of this text was noted by Feidas, "Ἠγεμονίς," p. 642.

from the text of the treaties they concluded in the tenth century with Byzantium, consisted above all in the dispatch of mercenary troops from Kiev. This is confirmed very neatly by a passage in the Russian Primary Chronicle which states that on her return from Constantinople to Kiev, (presumably therefore late in 957 or early in 958) Olga received an embassy from the emperor, complaining that she had not yet sent him the promised "slaves, wax and furs, and soldiers to help me."²⁰

The evidence concerning Olga's reception, which we have extracted so far from the 'Book of Ceremonies,' does not, I suggest, support the view that Olga was a Christian, either when she arrived in Constantinople or when she left the city to return home. I now propose to go a step further and attempt to prove, by positive arguments, that during her stay in Constantinople she was still a pagan.

In the very first sentence of the passage in the 'Book of Ceremonies' which describes Olga's reception, it is stated that this reception was 'in all respects similar to the one described above.' The description of Olga's reception is immediately preceded by accounts of audiences accorded in the Byzantine capital to ambassadors from various regions of the Arab world. The last in succession was the reception on 31 May 946 by Constantine VII and his son and co-emperor Rōmanos II of envoys from the emir of Tarsos, who had come to Constantinople to conclude peace and arrange an exchange of prisoners. If Olga had been a Christian in 957, her reception would hardly have been 'in all respects similar' to that of the Muslim envoys. It is hard to believe that some detail of a Christian ceremonial or ritual would not have been included in the account of her reception. Furthermore, the envoys from Tarsos on the Christian feast of the Transfiguration (6 August) were admitted to the τριβουνάλιον (an atrium within the palace complex), where they watched the emperor leaving the palace for the Church of Hagia Sophia and later returning from there.²¹ Olga's stay in Constantinople coincided with the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (14 September). In the 'Book of Ceremonies' this fact is passed over in silence. May one not suppose that, had Olga been a Christian, she would have been invited to take part in the ceremonies of this feast? Nor is there any evidence that those members of the emperor's palace guard who were both Russian and Christian (οἱ βαπτισμένοι Ῥώç),²² Olga's compatriots, were present during her meeting with the imperial family — which one might have expected if she had been a Christian. Even more striking perhaps is the silence of the Russian pilgrim, Dobrynya Yadreikovich, better known as Antony, Archbishop of Novgorod, who visited Constantinople in 1200. There, in the Church of Hagia Sophia, he was shown 'a large ritual golden dish which

²⁰ *Povest'*, p. 45; Cross, p. 83.

²¹ *De caerim.*, pp. 590-91.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 579.

belonged to Olga the Russian, when she took tribute, having come to Constantinople.²³ It is hard to believe that a Russian pilgrim, who was the future archbishop of Novgorod and, therefore, close to church circles, would not have mentioned Olga's baptism, had it taken place before she left the Byzantine capital.

It has often been noticed that in the 'Book of Ceremonies' Constantine VII calls the Russian princess by her pagan name, Elga ('Ελγα) and not by the Christian name, Helen, which she took on her baptism, probably in honour of the Empress Helen, the wife of Constantine VII. We know that Olga was baptized as Helen from three sources: the Russian Primary Chronicle, the 'Memory and Eulogy of Prince Vladimir,' and the chronicle of Adalbert. The Byzantine tradition normally required the sovereign of a country newly converted to Byzantine Christianity to assume on baptism the name of the reigning emperor. It was, hence, natural for Olga to take, on the occasion of her baptism, the name of the imperial consort of Constantine VII.²⁴ It seems unlikely, if on her arrival in Constantinople Olga had already borne the name of Constantine's wife, that he would not have mentioned it.

The most weighty argument, however, in favor of the view that Olga departed from Constantinople still a pagan is the outcome of her embassy. We know from the 'Book of Ceremonies' that her delegation

²³ *Puteshestvie Novgorodskogo arkhiepiskopa Antoniia v Tsar'grad*, ed. P. Savvaitov (St Petersburg, 1872), p. 58. A.N. Sakharov may well be right in supposing that this "golden dish" was the same "golden dish adorned with precious stones" (χρυσῷ διαλιθῷ σκουτελλίῳ) on which silver coins were presented to Olga during her audience with the emperor on 9 September 957, and that before leaving Constantinople she presented this dish to the treasury of Hagia Sophia: "Diplomatiya knyagini Ol'gi," p. 38; *Diplomatiya Drevney Rusi*, p. 280. Antony describes it as follows: "There is embedded in Olga's dish a precious stone, on which is depicted Christ, and from that [image of] Christ people take seal impressions for all good purposes. The upper part of the dish is studded with pearls," *ibid.*, p. 59.

²⁴ Helen ceased to be the reigning empress on 9 November 959, the day of her husband's death. However, she retained the rank of Augusta and continued to live in the imperial palace until her death on 19 September 960: Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia*, Book 6 (Bonn, 1938), p. 473; Ioannis Scylitzae *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. I. Thurn (Berlin, 1973), p. 252. (Scylitzes dates her death to 20 September.) So, if Olga took the Christian name Helen in the life-time of the empress, the *terminus ante quem* for her baptism is 19 September 960. Sakharov, on the other hand, has argued that she was called Helen not in honor of Constantine VII's wife, but after the mother of Constantine I ("Diplomatiya knyagini Ol'gi," p. 37; *Diplomatiya Drevney Rusi*, p. 279). He relies on a passage in the Russian Primary Chronicle: "She [i.e. Olga] was given in baptism the name Helen, like the empress of old, the mother of the Great Constantine" (*Povesi'*, pp. 44; Cross, p. 82). In fact however, the passage implies no more than a comparison between the roles played by Helen and Olga in the conversion of their respective countries to Christianity. This comparison, heightened by the obvious parallel between Helen's son Constantine and Olga's grandson Vladimir, who made Christianity the official religion of the Russian state, was fairly standard in early medieval Russia. It was made quite pointedly by the Russian Metropolitan Hilarion about 1050: "Slovo o zakone i blagodati," in *A Historical Russian Reader*, ed. J. Fennell and D. Obolensky (Oxford, 1969), p. 15.

was received by the emperor twice: on 9 September and 18 October. What was Olga doing during the thirty-eight days between these two audiences? A partial answer to this question is given by the Primary Chronicle, which cites her reply to the emperor's demand for the promised slaves, wax, furs, and mercenary troops. "If," she is reported to have said in her message to the emperor, "you will wait in my country on the Pochaina for as long as I waited in the Golden Horn, then I will give you what you demand."²⁵ The full import of this message will become apparent if it is remembered that the Pochaina is a small river which flows into the Dnieper near Kiev, and the Golden Horn is the harbor of Constantinople. The ironic tone of Olga's reply recalls her humorous dialogues with the Drevlyane in the semi-legendary account of the atrocities she inflicted upon them in the Primary Chronicle.²⁶ There can scarcely be any doubt, however, of the historicity of her message to the emperor, in content if not in form. Wax, furs, and slaves are frequently mentioned in the documents of the time as the main articles of export from Russia to Byzantium. Russian mercenaries, serving in the Empire's armed forces, are mentioned in the text of the Russo-Byzantine treaties of 911 and 944.²⁷ They took part in the abortive Byzantine Cretan expedition of 949²⁸ and also in Nikephoros Phokas' campaign against Crete in 960, which led in the following year to the conquest of the island.²⁹ As for Olga's 'waiting' in the Golden Horn, this detail seems only too authentic. The Byzantines had learned from long and bitter experience the need to exercise the utmost caution in permitting groups of armed foreigners—more particularly Russian Varangians—to enter Constantinople. The sheer size of Olga's delegation suggests that she arrived in Byzantium with a large fleet. It is not surprising that between Olga's first and second audience the Russian delegation was forced to remain at anchor in the Golden Horn, outside the city walls. The only possibly surprising thing is the length of the wait—more than five weeks.³⁰

This humiliating delay could not fail to irritate the proud Russian princess. If we are to believe the Primary Chronicle, this irritation

²⁵ *Povest'*, p. 45; Cross, p. 83.

²⁶ *Povest'*, pp. 40-3; Cross, pp. 78-81.

²⁷ *Povest'*, pp. 28, 38; Cross, pp. 68, 76.

²⁸ *De Caerim.*, p. 664.

²⁹ Theophanes Continuatus, pp. 476, 481. Cf. G. Schlumberger, *Un empereur byzantin au X^e siècle: Nicéphore Phocas* (Paris, 1890), pp. 44-96.

³⁰ Several historians believe that Olga's long wait occurred before her first audience, and that she was made to wait for more than two months before she was received by the emperor: V.T. Pashuto, *Vneshnyaya politika Drevney Rusi* (Moscow, 1968), p. 67; A.N. Sakharov, "Diplomatiya knyagini Ol'gi", p. 41. My reasons for believing this view to be mistaken will be given below. It is worth noting that in 946 the envoys of the emir of Tarsos were granted their second audience with the emperor a few days after their first audience: *De caerim.*, pp. 588-92.

caused her to refuse, at least for a time, to honor the promises she had given the emperor in Constantinople. Perhaps, as we shall see, her displeasure had other reasons as well. In any case this scarcely suggests that her negotiations with the Byzantine government in 957 had a successful outcome.

Another pointer to the probable failure of these negotiations can be found in the brief account of the second reception of the Russian delegation, on 18 October. Historians so far have paid scant attention to this second audience. Several of its details are not without interest. The account begins as follows: "On 18 October, on a Sunday, a banquet took place in the Chrysotriklinos [the palace's central hall]. The emperor sat together with the Russians (καὶ ἐκαθέσθη ὁ βασιλεὺς μετὰ τῶν Ῥώζ). Another banquet took place in the Pentakouvoukleion of Saint Paul's [a formal dining hall within the palace complex], and there sat the empress with her children born in the purple, with her daughter-in-law and the *archontissa* [the princess, i.e., Olga].' We can infer from this account that this time Olga did not even meet the emperor. Only the "Russians"—that is presumably the diplomats and merchants who had come with her as experts and technical advisers—were invited to the emperor's board. Olga had to be content with dining in the company of the empress and her family. We gain the impression that during this second reception the Russian diplomats and merchants were merely informed of the Byzantine government's decision on matters which Olga had discussed with the emperor at her first reception. No mention is made of any talks or discussions.

Finally, it is interesting to compare the sizes of the monetary gifts received by the members of the Russian delegation from the imperial exchequer during the two receptions on 9 September and 18 October. Olga received on the first occasion 500 miliaresia (silver coins, the total sum approximately equal to 42 nomismata (bezants, or gold sovereigns); on the second occasion she was given only 200 miliaresia. Her nephew received 30 miliaresia the first time, and 20 the second. Each of the Russian merchants received 12 miliaresia at the first reception, and only 6 miliaresia at the second. Other donations remained unchanged: their recipients were the envoys of the Russian princes (12 miliaresia each), the priest Gregory (8 miliaresia) and two interpreters (12 miliaresia each).

What was the reason for this considerable reduction in the size of the gifts received by Olga, her nephew, and the Russian merchants?³¹ An attempt to explain the differences in the sums of money was made in 1908 by the distinguished Russian art historian, D.V. Ainalov.³² In his opinion

³¹The fact that the remaining members of Olga's embassy did not suffer similar monetary cuts shows that these cuts were not automatically applied to the whole embassy at its second reception.

³²D. Ainalov, "Ocherki i zametki po istorii drevnerusskogo iskusstva. II: O darakh russkim knyaz'yam i poslam v Vizantii," *Izvestiya Otdeleniya Russkogo Yazyka i Slovesnosti*, 13 (1908) 290-307.

the monies paid out to Olga and her companions were not gifts (and are not, he rightly notes, called 'gifts' in the 'Book of Ceremonies'), but a kind of allowance, similar to the 'maintenance' (*slebnoye* or *slyubnoye*) which by the terms of the Russo-Byzantine treaties of 907 and 944 was to be paid by the imperial government to the Russian envoys (though not to merchants) during their stay in Constantinople.³³ In support of his theory, Ainalov cites another passage from the 'Book of Ceremonies' which describes the formal leave-taking by envoys from Italy to Byzantium. Before departure each of the envoys' 'men' or retainers (τοὺς ἀνθρώπους αὐτῶν) was given his 'stipend' (τὴν ῥόγαν) by the emperor; the sum of money to be received by each of the envoys and their 'men' being determined in advance with the emperor's approval.³⁴ In Ainalov's view the sums paid to Olga and her companions at their second reception were calculated as maintenance allowance to cover the period between the two receptions, i.e. between 9 September and 18 October; while the sums paid to them at the first reception, being larger, were computed to cover a period longer than thirty-eight days. This leads him to the conclusion that a considerable time elapsed between Olga's arrival in Constantinople and her first reception by the emperor.

Ainalov's arguments seem to me unconvincing. It is true that the monies paid to Olga and her companions are not called 'gifts' in the 'Book of Ceremonies.' It is merely stated that they were 'given' (ἐδόθη) to the Russian princess, while on 9 September the other members of her party 'received' them (ἐλαβον). The absence of the noun 'gifts' (δῶρα) is probably intentional. According to the Byzantine political theory, the emperor was supposed to receive, not distribute 'gifts.'³⁵ This followed from his sacrosanct position as the symbolic representative of Christ on earth; Constantine Porphyrogenetos himself in the 'Book of Ceremonies' compares the emperor's role in court ceremonial to the position of Christ among his apostles.³⁶ And Christ himself, as was well known, received 'gifts' (δῶρα) from the wise men. The 'Book of Ceremonies,' in my view, does not support Ainalov's thesis. However vague the terminology used in this passage, there is no doubt that the monies, paid out to members of the Russian delegation, were considered by both parties to be gifts, and were regarded by the Byzantines as an expression of imperial bounty. There is nothing in the text to suggest that they were regarded as a form of diplomatic maintenance allowance.

³³*Povest'*, pp. 24, 36; Cross, pp. 65, 74.

³⁴*De caerim.*, pp. 396-8.

³⁵No doubt this linguistic convention was not always strictly followed. Thus in the *De administrando imperio* the imperial stipend received by the prince of Taron is described as δωρεῖς by other Armenian princes, jealous of his prerogatives: chapter 43, ed. Gy. Moravcsik (Washington, D.C., 1967), p. 194. But this is an Armenian, not a Byzantine, use of the term, and the rivals of the prince of Taron are concerned to make a point.

³⁶*De caerim.*, p. 638.

Ainalov's example of the envoys from Italy has no relevance whatever to conditions of the tenth century. The passage he cites, as J.B. Bury proved in 1907,³⁷ was written in the sixth century, probably by Peter the Patrician, and reflects wholly different political circumstances. The notion of 'stipend' (δόγμα) could have been applied to Italian envoys by Justinian's government in the 30s of the sixth century. It could not be applied in any meaningful sense to the regent of Russia in the mid-tenth century.

Ainalov's third argument is, in my view, equally implausible. If the sums received by Olga and her companions were really calculated as maintenance allowance for specific periods of time, we would conclude that 200 miliaresia paid to her on 18 October were reckoned as her stipend for 38 days. Consequently, in order to earn the 500 miliaresia she got on 9 September, she would have had to wait in Constantinople—assuming that the same *per diem* rate applied—for 95 days (i.e. more than three months) before her first meeting with the emperor. It is hard to believe that the regent of Russia would have agreed, even for the strongest commercial and political motives, to remain at anchor with her numerous retinue outside the walls of Constantinople, awaiting the emperor's final decision, for 133 days, i.e., more than four months! Is it not more natural to see in the reduction in the size of the payments further evidence to support the view that Olga failed in 957 to extract from the Byzantine government satisfactory political and commercial terms, and returned home affronted and displeased?

We do not know the true reasons for this diplomatic failure of the Russian regent. There are grounds for suspecting that Constantine VII was no great lover of the Russians, nor particularly well disposed towards the Kievan state, for all the pressing circumstances which made an alliance with it expedient for the Empire. In his treatise 'On the Administration of the Empire,' whose first eight chapters lay down the foundations of Byzantine diplomacy in the area north of the Black Sea, the main emphasis is placed on the need to keep peace with the Pechenegs, not with the Russians.³⁸ And in the thirteenth chapter of that same work, written by Constantine himself in 952, he included the Russians among the "shifty and dishonorable tribes of the north" who are forever making intemperate demands upon the government of Byzantium.³⁹

It is very probable that Olga's disappointment at the results of her journey to Constantinople in 957 prompted her decision to send two

³⁷J.B. Bury, "The Ceremonial Book of Constantine Porphyrogenetos," *The English Historical Review*, 22 (1907) 212-13.

³⁸*De administrando imperio*, pp. 48-56.

³⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 66-76.

years later an embassy to Otto I⁴⁰. Whatever the particular aim of this embassy— whether ecclesiastical (as Adalbert would have it) or commercial and political (as Feidas, Arrignon, and Litavrin have argued)—its very fact is a measure of Olga's failure to conclude a firm alliance with Byzantium. This alone makes the theory that during her stay in Constantinople Olga was, or became, a Christian highly improbable.⁴¹

In the last resort the question of the time and place of Olga's baptism remains an open one. Its solution will be advanced only by a comprehensive study of the international relations of Kievan Russia, which in its turn depends on a thorough investigation of all the relevant sources.

⁴⁰*Reginonis abbatis Prumiensis chronicon cum continuatione Treverensi*, ed. F. Kurze (Hanover, 1890), pp. 170-2. [*Monumenta Germaniae Historica in usum scholarum*].

⁴¹Feidas' attempt to argue that Olga was baptized in Constantinople after her second reception at the imperial court (" 'Ἡγεμονίς," pp. 637-38) seems to me unconvincing.

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Saint Symeon of Thessalonike as a Historical Personality

DAVID BALFOUR

IN OUR OWN DAY, the Orthodox Church of Greece has canonized a number of comparatively recent saints, for instance: Saints Nikodemos Hagioreites and Makarios Notaras, joint authors of a famous ascetic compilation published in 1782, the *Φιλοκαλία τῶν Νηπτικῶν*; and even more recently, Saint Nektarios of Aighina, whose life span falls largely in this twentieth century. The latest addition to the calendar is Symeon, who was archbishop of Thessalonike from about 1416 or 1417 to September, 1429, and who died about six months before that city fell to the Turks for the second and last time after eight years of blockade and siege. Symeon had been the life and soul of resistance to the infidel, both under Byzantine rule and under the tutelage of the Venetians to whom the Byzantine governor, Andronikos Palaiologos, third son of the Emperor Manuel II, ceded Thessalonike with his father's consent in 1423. Symeon also became famous as a theological author.

The canonization of this exceptional man was proclaimed in Thessalonike on 3 May 1981, following unanimous decisions by the Holy Synod in Athens and by the Ecumenical Patriarchate. I happen to have recently published two volumes in which I have edited and commented upon numerous works of Symeon which were completely unknown and which provide a great deal of new detail regarding his life and outlook,¹

¹Text incorporating the substance of lectures delivered in May, 1982, to the Hellenic Society of Professional People and Scientists of Great Britain ('Εταιρεία Ἑλλήνων Ἐπιστημόνων Μεγάλης Βρετανίας) and to the Byzantine Society of Oxford University.

¹*Politico-Historical Works of Symeon, Archbishop of Thessalonica (1416/1417 to 1429). Critical Greek Text with Introduction and Commentary* [in English] by David Balfour (= Wiener Byzantinistische Studien XIII) (Vienna 1979) will be quoted here as BPHW. Most personal details in it regarding Symeon are contained in his very long "Discourse on the Recent Miracles of St. Demetrios" (p. 36-69 of the Greek text) and in his "Apologia" for his attempted flight to Constantinople (p. 70-76). The second volume is entirely Greek (the introductions being in modern Greek) and is entitled 'Αγίου Συμεὼν Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θεσσαλονίκης (1416/17-1429), Θεολογικὰ Ἔργα. Κριτικὴ ἔκδοσις μετ' εἰσαγωγῆς ὑπὸ David Balfour, Ἀνάλεκτα Βλατάδων, 34 (Thessalonike, 1981) will be quoted as BETH.

so I am able to trace an objective outline of the man as he really was; but it will be a critical outline, a psychological study, and not just the sort of stereotyped panegyric which has begun to appear in Greece since his canonization. I unearthed and photographed these works of his in 1940 in a unique manuscript, originally owned and corrected by the author himself. Where this volume lay from his death till the mid-eighteenth century is a mystery, but in the 1750s it turned up as the property of a Phanariote bishop who owned it both as Metropolitan of Herakleia and as Ecumenical Patriarch. This was Kallinikos III, who ascended the throne in 1757, but was soon driven off it and exiled to Mount Sinai. He managed to make his way back and ended by retiring to his native village of Zagora on Mount Pelion which at that time was an important center of Greek culture—one of the many preparing, through education, for the resurgence of the Hellenic nation. Zagora boasted a Greek School of the Savior associated with the activity of the patriot scholar Ioannes Prinkos and with the Greek colony of Amsterdam. It was to that school that the deposed patriarch, who died in 1791 or 92, donated, among other books and papers, this rare document. It was 125 years before anyone noticed it; and even then, though briefly and inaccurately mentioned by Spyridon Lampros and Constantine Dyovouniotes in the periodical *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων* during the First World War, its existence failed to register with the learned public.² I confess that although I began to compose, under the supervision of Professor Constantine Bones, a doctoral thesis based on it for submission to the theological faculty of the University of Athens, after 1941 I left thirty-eight years go by before I published anything about it. In that year the German invasion drove me from Greece; World War II interrupted my studious existence and led to a reorientation of my whole life. It is only in old age and retirement that I have returned to palaeography and Byzantinology.

I have said that Symeon of Thessalonike was already well known as an ecclesiastical writer. He was indeed the leading liturgiologist of the Byzantine Church in its late period. He had written a voluminous treatise called *Διάλογος ἐν Χριστῷ* (though better known in the West as *Κατὰ Αἰρέσεων*) in which he first described and refuted the main heresies and then, above all, went on to comment on the rites, sacraments, prayers and customs of the Orthodox Church with special interest in their symbolic meaning. This epitome of Orthodox faith and practice became a classic because it supplied a need and because it reflected exactly the

²Lampros in NE 11 (1914) 306 briefly described it, but he only mentioned one of the many works contained in it, viz. Symeon's already published *Answers to Questions*. Dyovouniotes, who numbered it as Cod. 23 of the Zagora Public Library in his "Catalogue," serialized in NE 12 (1915), 13 (1916) and 14 (1917), described it sketchily but in sufficient detail to make it plain that it contained numerous anecdotes. See NE 13 (1916) 115 f. Its failure to arouse interest was no doubt due to the war conditions of the time.

stubborn mood of inward-looking anti-Latin and anti-Moslem conservatism with which such remnants of the Byzantine world as resisted the temptation to apostasy yet survived physically, faced, weathered and outlived the prolonged and agonizing storm of Ottoman domination. Together with six other less extensive works of Symeon (two minor liturgical treatises, a collection of questions and answers, and three brief compilations on the Creed), this great *Dialogue* was copied in innumerable manuscripts and published by Dositheos, Patriarch of Jerusalem, as a printed book in 1683,³ whence it was taken over in 1866 into Migne's *Greek Patrology* in which series it occupies the whole of volume 155. These works were also translated into the vernacular tongues of the Orthodox East and became very popular. In the West, Symeon was notorious for his anti-Latin bias; but despite this and despite the handicap of his text being capped in Migne's collection with a Latin version full of glaring mistranslations, he was much appreciated by learned liturgiologists. The chief expert on this aspect today is Professor Ioannes Phountoules of the University of Thessalonike, who in 1966 produced a study of all Symeon's liturgical work and is in the process of publishing his liturgical compositions.⁴ But though Symeon was thus familiar to certain types of readers, his writings were not appreciated by everybody. The late Professor Demetrios Balanos, for instance, in his book, *Βυζαντινοὶ Ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ Συγγραφεῖς, 800 ἕως 1453* (Athens, 1951), dismisses him with half a page of superficial and rather contemptuous description. And though at least heard of as an author, Symeon as a human being remained a mystery; he was barely known as a holy man, the die-hard defender of his city against the Turks. Look him up in standard works of reference and you will find next to nothing apart from the fact that a certain Ioannes Anagnostes described how his sudden death during the siege of Thessalonike dealt a disastrous blow to the morale of the inhabitants, so steadfast and devoted a pastor had he been.⁵ It had become a habit to treat this saintly man's life not only as unknown, but unknowable.

But the situation has now changed, for a few of the twenty new works

³Συμεὼν τοῦ μακαρίου Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θεσσαλονίκης, Κατὰ αἱρέσεων καὶ περὶ τῆς μόνης ὁρθῆς τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἡμῶν πίστεως, τῶν τε ἱερῶν τελετῶν καὶ μυστηρίων τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, Διάλογος (Jassy, 1683). Edition sponsored by Dositheos and financed by John Doukas, Voevod of Moldavia. The text, which includes an extensive index, was prepared by John Molivdos (Comnen) of Bucharest, a doctor/philosopher and notarios of the Great Church who later became Hierotheos, Metropolitan of Drystra.

⁴I.M. Phountoules, *Τὸ Λειτουργικὸν Ἔργον Συμεὼν τοῦ Θεσσαλονίκης* (Thessalonike, 1966); and *Συμεὼν Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θεσσαλονίκης τὰ Λειτουργικὰ Συγγράμματα—1: Εὐχαὶ καὶ ὕμνοι* (Thessalonike, 1968); 2: *Τυπικὰ Διατάξεις* (still under preparation).

⁵John Anagnostes, *Διήγησις περὶ τῆς τελευταίας ἀλώσεως τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης*, ed. Tsaras (Thessalonike, 1958) p. 9 f.

which I have published are more personal in character than the older ones. Some of them, in the form of epistles or encyclicals, are polemical or hortatory treatises; some are personal letters; others are public declarations directly connected with the defense of Thessalonike. To this last group belongs a discourse of outstanding length (over 13,000 words in the Greek original) describing the contemporary "Miracles of Saint Demetrios"—a document of considerable historical and autobiographical interest. There is prosopographical detail too in an apologia, which Symeon addressed to his flock when in 1422 he made a more-or-less clandestine but abortive attempt to leave the city and return to Constantinople, and also in some of his letters. Symeon now emerges as a hierarch who was not merely a commentator on doctrine and ceremonial and, as Phountoules has shown, a creator of liturgical texts and regulations, but an active champion and apologist of Orthodoxy, in defense of which his writings ranged well beyond the limits of his own archdiocese. He is the author of rather a fascinating account of contemporary political and military events and issues and of his own endeavors and sufferings in their midst. As a matter of fact, a close scrutiny of his *Dialogue* (which nobody actually troubled to make) could have enabled a discriminating observer to trace a general psychological outline of the author—the unaffected straightforwardness of his style and his incisive approach to theology and church order, particularly where controversial matters are concerned (and here his thorough-going anti-Latinism is a salient feature) already conveyed an impression of sincere humility combined with a certain naïveté and with utterly intransigent Orthodoxy. And now that the volume of his known literary output has been increased by nearly one half, the outline is becoming far more distinct. In his personal life Symeon is now seen to be of truly heroic stature—not always sound in his judgments perhaps, but utterly wholehearted in his devotion to God's cause as he conceived it. As we shall see, Divine Providence seems to have involved him in a fate which was tragic and, for him, ironical. He bore it with great patience.

SYMEON WAS BORN AND BRED in Constantinople in perhaps about the seventh or eighth decade of the fourteenth century. His religious enthusiasm for that city is unlimited; it is for him the fount of true faith and right practice, and its inhabitants are "the divine people of Christ."⁶ Though unable to refuse his appointment to Thessalonike, he regarded it as exile and often begged to be allowed to return to his native place. When he was elected archbishop, he was a hiermonk and probably a confessor, a *pneumatikos*. It is not known for certain where and when he had become a monk, but it was probably quite early in his life; and in

⁶BPHW 46.17-18.

view of his intimate description of "the holy Xanthopouloi," Kallistos and Ignatios, in chapter 295 of his *Dialogue*, we may presume that he was one of their disciples. These were two saints, probably brothers, who lived together in Constantinople as hesychast recluses in extraordinary harmony and who produced a century of 'chapters' (κεφάλαια) on the ascetic and mystical life which was much read.⁷ On the basis of two of the newly edited letters of Symeon, I have made out, what seems to me, quite a strong case⁸ for surmising that in them he is addressing the monastic group which gathered round the two saints in Byzantion and later became the Mone ton Xanthopoulon (Μονὴ τῶν Ξανθοπούλων), and that they show him to have been a member of that community with which he never ceased to have close spiritual ties. True, Kallistos became patriarch in 1397⁹ and died only three months later, but I think Ignatios must have lived on till at least 1423 and been Symeon's monastic educator during many years. He describes how this blessed couple visibly shone with a halo of sacred light, and he seems to imply that he himself, in his youth, had observed that mystical phenomenon in them. This then must have been the authentic fountain from which Symeon derived the hesychastic and Palamite doctrine and outlook which is reflected in much of his work; this was the school where he too was trained to be a saint. Somewhere he had also received a good literary education, perhaps at the Patriarchal School under Theodoros Meliteniotes and/or Joseph Bryennios.¹⁰ But his Greek, though very correct and in no way demotic, is purely ecclesiastical and almost completely exempt from that pseudo-classical archaic affectation which makes the writings of many Byzantine authors tediously artificial. And he shows no signs of having studied much besides grammar and theology. For philosophy and the natural sciences he has nothing but hostility, treating them sometimes with contempt, always with mistrust.

Such was this hieromonk, chosen for the throne of Thessalonike.

⁷First published in the *Φιλοκαλία τῶν Νηπτικῶν* (Venice, 1782; Athens reprint, 1976, vol.4, 197-295); reproduced in Migne, PG 147.636-812. The correct title is *Τῶν ἐν μονοτρόποις ἐλαχίστων Καλλίστου καὶ κυρίου Ἰγνατίου τῶν Ξανθοπούλων μέθοδος καὶ κανὼν σὺν Θεῷ ἀκριβής...περὶ τῶν αἰρομένων ἡσυχῶς βιώναι καὶ μοναστικῶς*.

⁸BPHW 91-97, discussed on 211-28 and 279-86.

⁹This was Kallistos II, not Kallistos I, the earlier hesychast, disciple and biographer of Saint Gregory the Sinaïte who died in 1363. The confusion between the two has been propagated by Nikodemos' biographical introduction to Kallistos and Ignatios in the *Philokalia*. But there is no reason to sneer, as Irénée Hausherr does in his controversial *La méthode d'raison hésychaste* (Rome, 1927) p. 132, at the chronological inaccuracy of the compilers of that ascetic collection. Such an error was excusable in the eighteenth century, but not in the twentieth. As a matter of fact, Hausherr makes the same mistake of confusing the two patriarchs on the very same page.

¹⁰See F. Fuchs, *Die höheren Schulen von Konstantinopol im Mittelalter* (Leipzig, 1926) 73-76.

He shows great familiarity with the ritual and practice of the Patriarchate; he had written a treatise on the priesthood, addressed to a candidate for ordination, in which he exhorted him to take it very seriously.¹¹ Of himself he says that his life previous to his consecration had been peaceful, exempt from public affairs; he was quite unused to the kind of stress to which his new responsibilities were to expose him. He definitely states that he was a man of "very weak" health, that he was leading a carefree existence, "reaping by God's mercy more than he deserved of the benefits of a life of relaxation in his native place." So, content with them, he had eschewed all ambition and had not thrust himself forward for promotion to the episcopate.¹² However, he was not entirely inactive; for George Scholarios, the scholar who was to become Gennadios II, the first patriarch under Turkish suzerainty, tells how he knew him in his early student days and heard him preaching to the people.¹³ He describes him as "highly educated" (πεπαιδευμένος ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα) and "of outstanding virtue" (ἀρετῇ τῶν τότε προεχόντων ἐν πρώτοις), one who "enlightened by God, drew very close to the charism of wisdom." Scholarios, who was only about twelve years old at the time, seems not to have perceived, as we can perceive today, that this sickly man, besides being well-lettered and saintly, was very narrow in his mental outlook and rather obstinate and self-opinionated.

We must believe Symeon when he tells us that, on the will of God revealing itself, he was to become a bishop: "I hesitated.... I was pushed into it.... I submitted to pressure, though with anguish." He considered himself unworthy, and he knew something of what he calls the "storms and anxieties" which awaited him in the turbulent city of Thessalonike. Then how was his consent obtained, though canon law did not oblige him to give it? Obedience to his spiritual fathers in the Xanthopouloi community may well have played a part, but I think there is an additional and even more cogent explanation. The emperor played a powerful role behind the scenes in the more important episcopal elections. Manuel II could not fail to be interested in who was to occupy the see in the second capital of his empire, where he himself had set up in his early days as a sort of independent monarch; he must have promoted Symeon's candidature. We have here a piece of corroborative evidence from a source which may seem somewhat incongruous in the framework of a saint's biography. It is none other than the satirical romance by Holobolos

¹¹This is his Περὶ Ἱερωσύνης, the last of the seven works published in 1683 by Dositheos. See Migne, PG 155.953-76. The title has been badly garbled by the Latin translation; but if correctly read, it clearly indicates that the author was in priest's orders at the time of writing.

¹²*Apologia*, ch. 6; BPHW 72.20-24.

¹³*Oeuvres complètes de Georges Scholarios*, ed. L. Petit, X.A. Siderides and M. Jugie (Paris, 1928-37) 1, p. 506.

called "Mazaris' Journey to Hades" ¹⁴ in which the author, a real person alive down to 1413, recounts how he attempted to retrieve his lost position at court through the influence of "the Xanthopouloi," "those men proclaimed as saints yet incongruously named the Blond Frauds (ξανθοὶ ὑπούλοι)," and was persuaded by one member of their community, but without result, to sign away his fortune. It is piquant to reflect that this may possibly have been Symeon himself, though of course Holobolos' lampoon does not necessarily represent the true interpretation of whatever happened. Anyway, what is important is this author's assertion that Manuel listened to the Xanthopouloi "more than anyone." This monastic brotherhood was so close to Manuel that a member of it called Makarios became his confessor and was appointed one of his three executors on his deathbed in 1425. ¹⁵ I suggest that Symeon may have been his predecessor in that position; in any case I think he was a spiritual friend of the basileus, for he says he wrote to him "many times" from Thessalonike, trying to influence his policy. ¹⁶ And in 1422, he set out to return to the capital with the expectation of interviewing him personally. ¹⁷

And that is the sum total of what we know of Symeon's early life. Of his family origins we know nothing. He never ceased to protest, even publically, that he was unworthy of the episcopate; he wrote disparagingly of himself in comparison with other, often more learned bishops, and particularly with his more immediate predecessors at Thessalonike. ¹⁸ His humility was extraordinary; and I feel it rings true, though it was, of course, a habit among Byzantine monks to render lip-service to the principle of humility. In his case it was more than a convention; he was not a hypocrite, but a very sincere Christian. For his attitude towards himself was put to the test during thirteen years of public struggle and must have provoked or enhanced his sufferings at the hands of the factious populace and selfish governing class of the notorious city. He had obeyed the command of duty and hastened there, alone and quite unknown to the inhabitants, and was at first well received ¹⁹ at some date which I argue must lie between June 1416 and April 1417. ²⁰ But he soon ran into opposition. A man may be personally humble; but if he is intransigent in his adherence to his faith and his moral principles and

¹⁴The latest and best edition is by the Department of Classics, State University of New York at Buffalo (Arethusa Monographs, 5; Seminar Classics, 609) (Buffalo, N.Y., 1975). It provides not only a critical text with translation, but an introduction and ample notes.

¹⁵George Sphrantzes, *Chronicon Minus*, PG 156.1032; ed. Grecu 20.

¹⁶BPHW 57.14-19.

¹⁷Ibid. 54.7-9, 29-31.

¹⁸Ibid. 71.35-72.19.

¹⁹Ibid. 72.26-32.

²⁰See BPHW 131-37 and BETH 36-37.

fearlessly outspoken in his blunt disapproval of others, he is bound to make enemies among those who prefer discretion and compromise. Then constant denigration of himself, even in public, as incompetent, only irritates those to whom he is recommending unpalatable moral decisions. This has often happened with saints however hagiography may work to disguise it; the fact that they achieve a kind of supernatural inner strength and constancy does not always mean that they have the right temperament and natural personality to put it across with others.

Symeon started straight off by issuing an encyclical summoning his whole flock—suffragan bishops, clergy and all—to repent,²¹ since if he neglected to do so, he declared, he would be responsible for all their sins. His almost morbid fear of sharing other men's guilt comes out elsewhere too in his writings.²² This may have been well accepted, but it was his strictness in the law courts which began to be offensive. In his own ecclesiastical court he would make no concessions over matrimonial impediments; and when some of his more extreme decisions were appealed and overruled by the Patriarchal Synod in Constantinople, he protested to Patriarch Joseph II and refused to be persuaded. Many irregularities, he said, were taking place; and they would continue and multiply if the impression were given that condescension on the part of the Great Church was encouraging laxity over marriage matters. So it was up to the Patriarchate to set an example of strictness.²³ In the civil courts the legal reform of Andronikos III (1329) had also given the archbishop jurisdiction; and here too he just did what he thought right, leaving other men's opinions, as he himself declares, "out of account," the result being that "he appeared burdensome to man."²⁴ He may, of course, have been defending the poor against the powerful. But this was not all. He found his flock deeply divided on political issues and attempted to overcome the dissension, but he completely failed. He put pressure on the young despot Andronikos—third son of Manuel II, born in 1400, titular governor resident in Thessalonike since the age of eight and effective governor from about 1417 onwards—to steer him on a purely Byzantine course of obedience to and support of Constantinople, which many of the inhabitants disagreed with. Tension and criticism increased; and this unfortunate zealot, who had little idea of that typically Greek Orthodox principle called 'oikonomia,' was plunged by his distress into what he calls "seven years" of very serious illness of which he nearly died. He had long been of weak health, and it seems that his nervous system could not stand the strain. So we must visualize this obstinate diehard, this pillar of

²¹Letter B 4 in BETH 155-70. Cf. Letter B 1, *ibid.* 81-108.

²²See, for example, BETH 242, 109-11.

²³This is the subject of his Letter B 18 to Patriarch Joseph II.

²⁴BPHW 73.8-12.



St. Symeon as represented in the Vatopedi Codex 47 (dated 1763) f.82. Inscription at the top: Συμεών ὁ ἀγιώτατος ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Θεσσαλονίκης καὶ νέος θεολόγος. On the book: Ἐν Χριστῷ μοι ἀγαπητέ, which are the opening words of his treatise *On the Priesthood* (Migne, PG 155.953-76).

the defense of Thessalonike against the Turk, as a physically feeble man who, during half his episcopate, was scarcely able to stand on his feet, yet still carried on courageously from his bed of sickness. How revealing this is, how different from the impression received from his published works and from the scanty accounts which had reached us, how different too, one may say, from certain panegyric descriptions and certain icons which have begun to circulate since his canonization. Fortunately for objectivity's sake, the memory of what Symeon must have looked like—the sickly, bent and somewhat shriveled figure, redolent of anguish and self-disparagement, yet strangely authoritative—was somehow preserved in a Vatopedi miniature dated 1763; and last autumn it was actually copied onto a postage stamp for common use in Greece. It is the portrait of a truly heroic human being.²⁵

Though so seriously weakened, Symeon thought it necessary to set out on 8 June 1422 in an attempt to return by land and sea via Mount Athos to Byzantion. His motives were plausible. The position was critical; the young Turkish Sultan Murad II, who had recently succeeded his father Mehmed I, was openly preparing for war against the Byzantines for having inadvisedly supported a rival claimant to his throne, the so-called "False Mustafa." Thessalonike, the second capital of the empire, had surrendered to Turkish sovereignty from 1387 to 1403; and only the Sultan Bayezid's defeat by the Mongol Khan Timur-Lenk had liberated it. Within the city there was a large party, supported by a majority of the populace, which felt that the Turkish regime had been tolerable and that to resist the sultan again would be hopeless and suicidal. Though we have no direct evidence till the following year, it seems that another party must have already begun to put out feelers in the direction of Venice; at least they were talking of calling in the Venetians to take over, develop and defend their city. This plan was actually carried out in mid-September 1423. But Symeon agreed with neither party; Orthodoxy, he thought, demanded an imperialist policy independent of both, unsubmitive to alien dominion, either Turkish or Frankish. With the despot's permission he slipped unobserved out of the city by land, leaving behind him an encyclical explaining that his purpose was to solicit such aid from Manuel II as might enable the Thessalonians "to stay with their Orthodox masters."²⁶ But he could hardly have chosen a less propitious moment, for within a few days Murad's troops had closed in to blockade both Constantinople and Thessalonike with a view to besieging them. Symeon just managed to reach Mount Athos where, he says, "fears, circumstances and other unpleasantness" afflicted him. It is not clear how

²⁵See the reproduction on p. 63.

²⁶BPHW 73.28-35. The encyclical is his *Apologia* (B 5) edited on pp. 70-76 and commented on in pp. 193-99.

long he stayed there; he was persuaded to turn back and must have done so by sea. From then on, the holy man was practically a detainee in the city.²⁷ He made no secret of his wish to go to Byzantion, but he knew he would be prevented if he tried again. His abortive attempt had been more or less clandestine; and reading between the lines in which he announced the *fait accompli* of his flight, one gathers that he probably had not intended returning at all. He would not be allowed to repeat the escapade.

During the year or more that followed until the Venetians took over, Symeon fell even more ill, lying, as he says, "half dead, no better than a corpse."²⁸ The hardships consequent on the blockade and the ravaging of the surrounding countryside soon began to take their toll, and the dissension within the city became disastrous. Symeon describes himself as "exhausted by grief and the relentless pressure of afflictions." "The circumstances of the times," he says, "had quite consumed him."²⁹ But though his sympathy for the sufferings of the people was one source of his distress, as a matter of fact, the main cause of it was the unreliability of his Orthodox flock—indeed, their hostility and contempt. This will come as a surprise to those used to the traditional view of Symeon as the loving and beloved shepherd, derived from John Anagnostes and echoed by Mark of Ephesos; it is based on a superficial reading of Anagnostes, for that author admits that the majority in the city reproached him for preventing them from surrendering it to the Turks.³⁰ His sudden death was a shock to everyone, but that does not mean he was popular. That version is now definitely belied by Symeon's own account. It seems that we must visualize the saintly archbishop as not only in very bad health, but as not even enjoying—at any rate, during the most critical period—the personal respect and public honor due to the incumbent of a major see. Applying to himself the expressions used by Saint Paul in the fourth chapter of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, Symeon declares he is "buffeted by everyone," "reviled by his very own household," "persecuted," "forcibly detained," "defamed by those in whose interest he

²⁷"I am held as though in bondage," he writes to his monastic friends in Constantinople (BPHW 91.7-12), "having been deprived of self-determination in almost all respects. It is as if I were inside a prison, constrained by bonds. For though dangers lie before my eyes, it is not open to me to go away; nay, I am being held against my will and deprived of what is the main thing for me, which is to come and see you. I am eager to do so and begging that it may take place, but am not permitted to achieve it." Elsewhere he says ὑπὸ δεσμᾶ γεγένημαι (Ibid., 54.32) and κρατούμεθα καὶ βιαίως (55.8). John Anagnostes, too (Διήγησις, ch. 8, ed. Tsaras 22), describes him as "demanding almost every year to be allowed to leave the city of Thessalonike and return to his native city."

²⁸BPHW 58.1.

²⁹BPHW 53.33-54.8, 73.13-15.

³⁰Anagnostes (Διήγησις, p. 12) speaks of τοὺς ἀδικίαν κατ' ἐκείνου λαλοῦντας ὅτι μὴ προδοσίαν ἐσκέψατο... τῶν μὲν δὴ πλειόνων δυσχεραίνοντων ὅτι μὴ ἀφίσιν ἐξῆλθαι προδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν τοῖς Τούρκοις.

is acting," "become the offscouring of all things," "made as the filth of the world," the subject of critical discussion both in Thessalonike and in far-away places.³¹

Let us face fearlessly and objectively the terrible realities of those times. In the fifteenth century apostasy from Christianity to Islam was becoming a mass phenomenon. As the siege initiated in June 1422, progressed and privations and dangers began to multiply, the pro-Turkish party, the party of surrender, became vociferous and took to violence. Already in 1411 it had nearly succeeded, we learn from Symeon,³² in betraying the city to Mehmed I's ferocious predecessor, Musa. The populace began to riot in favor of surrender to the new besieger, and the archbishop was singled out as a principal target of popular indignation. Some members of this tumultuous rabble must have intended islamization; for Symeon reports that the mob threatened to drag him down and his churches with him.³³ We learn from Symeon that even some of the ferocious Turkish officers in command of the besieging troops were the sons of Christian parents.³⁴ A proportion of what Symeon wrote is now found to be aimed at persuading Greeks not to go over to Islam from motives of self-interest, sensuality or despair.³⁵ It was the danger of premature capitulation to the sultan that induced a group of notables to work for a handover to Venice, seeing that Constantinople seemed unable or unwilling to help in any way.

But Symeon was at loggerheads with the pro-Venetian party, too. When their solution was put forward as the only hope of avoiding what the common people were clamoring for, he opposed that as well. His own solution was to trust in God and Saint Demetrios and endure to the end. He thus became unpopular with almost everyone; and when later, seeing the Venetian regime coming, he stood up for his Church's rights under it, he received, he says, "contemptuous treatment and disdainful insults from many people."³⁶ He did succeed, despite his sickness and despite this opposition, in having a clause inserted in the negotiated agreement, guaranteeing the bare minimum of independence from the Latin Church; and thereafter he struggled fairly successfully to have it observed in detail. He opposed the handover to Venice as long as he could; but when the young sickly Despot Andronikos, betrayed by an officer sent from Byzantion to help him but who intrigued with the Turks against him, decided to call in the Venetians, and his father, Manuel II,

³¹BPHW 55.7-13.

³²BPHW 49.1-18.

³³BPHW 56.16-19.

³⁴See the case of Saratseas and Pazarles, BPHW 182-84.

³⁵See, for example, his encyclicals B 1 and B 2 in BETH.

³⁶BPHW 58.4.

agreed, Symeon could do no more. He accepted the *fait accompli* and is on record as enjoining obedience to the Venetian authorities, as being now established by God.³⁷ But though he collaborated strenuously with them over the defense of the city, he made no secret of his regret at what had happened. He regarded the Italians, both Genoese and Venetians, as instruments of God by which he chastised the Byzantines.

After this crisis Symeon's life entered a new phase. His health improved somewhat. He had suffered agonies of frustration and humiliation and had nearly died of nervous reaction, and now he found himself appreciated and rewarded by an alien and heretical regime. The party of surrender now had to keep quiet; some of its leaders, headed by the "despot's captain," the officer whom I have just mentioned, were soon arrested and exiled.³⁸ Symeon gradually recovered some degree of respect and influence. The people were soon disillusioned with their Venetian masters, and Symeon's efforts to prevent the takeover were better appreciated. Surrounded as they were by untrustworthy waverers among the Greek population, the Venetians much appreciated Symeon's undaunted determination to save Thessalonike from Turkish domination. On two occasions, in 1424 and 1429, we know they rewarded him and praised him as "fidelissimus."³⁹ The only serious bone of contention between them was that he insisted on presiding over the law courts where people flocked to him for justice, whereas the Venetians wanted them tried by their judges. But despite this return to relative popularity, the position was a bitterly ironic one for so rigorous an anti-Latin. He had to settle down in a spirit of self-sacrifice to serve two main aims which were almost contradictory: to save his Church from the Latins, and to save the state (now become Latin) from the Turks. Was this perhaps God's way of reproving him for being so prejudiced against other Christians?

Murad II called off the siege of Constantinople after a few months; and in February 1424, he made a peace settlement with the Byzantines which, though onerous for the latter, did at least put a stop to hostilities in Thrace for the next twenty-nine years. But he absolutely rejected all the Venetians' diplomatic attempts to get their occupation of Thessalonike recognized by him. So the blockade continued there, punctuated by

³⁷ Anagnostes, Διήγησις, p. 22.

³⁸ That this man, whom Symeon calls ὁ στρατηγός, intrigued with the Turks against the Despot Andronikos is unequivocally reported by him (BPHW 57.31-37). That "the despot's captain" was arrested and exiled by the Venetians, after their takeover, for a pro-Turkish plot, is learned from the "Morosini Chronicle," a contemporary Venetian unofficial document; for relative extracts from it, see K.A. Mertzios, Μνημεῖα Μακεδονικῆς Ἱστορίας (Μακεδονικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, 7) (Thessalonike, 1947). But that he was identical with the "general" is my own surmise.

³⁹ Both recorded in extracts from the Venetian Senate's records: the first by N.Jorga, *Notes et Extraits pour servir à l'histoire des croisades au XVe siècle*, vol.1 (Paris, 1899), entry dated 16 July 1424; and the second by K.A. Mertzios, Μνημεῖα, 86-87.

marauding skirmishes and at least one mass attack in 1426, which Symeon describes graphically and at some length.⁴⁰ The city finally succumbed to an onslaught led by Murad himself. The date was 29 March 1430. All the survivors were sold for slavery or ransom. The Italians sailed away in time. Symeon escaped because he had died 'suddenly' a little more than six months before the fatal day. It is not known what he died of and at what age, nor has his tomb been found.

I have said that this is a character study rather than a complete account of all aspects of Symeon's life and works. We must ignore his history of Greco-Turkish relations from 1387 to 1422; it is a prejudiced and not very reliable account, though it does supply some welcome new information and confirms much that was known or surmised. More valuable is his account from 1422 onwards, when he is writing of events of which he was an eyewitness. I have been drawing mostly on this and I will continue to do so. Symeon's experience during the Venetocracy in Thessalonike, i.e., the six years from September 1423 to September 1429, was that of utter devotion to a suffering flock to which he gave himself, John Anagnostes says, "every day, unsparingly" (ἐφ' ἐκάστης ἀφειδῶς).⁴¹ His task, said humble Symeon, was to try to make up for his own inadequacy by staying close to his flock and sharing their distress and hardships: τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ συγκακουχεῖσθαι, συμπιέζεσθαι, συνθλίβεσθαι, μένοντες ἐν ὑμῖν ἐν ὑπομονῇ πολλῇ, such was his program.⁴² He was always on the side of the poor and the oppressed. He boldly denounced the rich who exploited them and the powerful who treated them as "scarcely human."⁴³ He had been deeply shocked when, in Mehmed I's day, the Byzantines placated the sultan by handing over to him Christian deserters from the Turkish army who had sought refuge in the city.⁴⁴ His protests and tears then were in vain; but once the siege was on, he encouraged runaways from all sides to take refuge there. He rejoiced when a corn-laden ship sank in the harbor, since its sodden cargo reached the population at a low price instead of being hoarded by speculators.⁴⁵ On leaving for Constantinople in 1422, he was at pains to underline in his *Apologia* that he had derived no material profit at all from his incumbency.⁴⁶ He has left us harrowing, compassionate descriptions of the famine, the pestilence and the cold. He did not content himself with praying for his people. But pray he did; he "kept vigil," he declared, "praying and imploring and worrying over the faithful of this place."⁴⁷ In a letter to his

⁴⁰BPHW 60-62.

⁴¹Διήγησις, pp.8-10.

⁴²See BPHW 237.

⁴³Ibid. 47.11-13.

⁴⁴Ibid. 51.5-32.

⁴⁵Ibid. 64.17-34.

⁴⁶Ibid. 75.8-14.

former community in Constantinople he assured them, "I do not in any way shirk perseverance in affliction, in privations, in distress, even expecting bodily dangers and death itself."⁴⁸ Among the afflictions the chief was perhaps hunger. Even the despot, the emperor's son, did not escape its pangs.⁴⁹ To have faced courageously, for years on end, the actual danger of dying of starvation was part of Symeon's life experience and one of the things entitling him to be called a saint, since he did so in a spirit of faith and without complaint. He saw miracles in everything and was convinced that Saint Demetrios had provided and, in all critical moments, would continue to provide, out of the blue in the last extremity, ships laden with corn for the famished inhabitants (though, as a matter of fact, it was the Venetians who were seeing to it that the scanty supply never completely failed; and we have records of the arrangements made by them⁵⁰).

Despite the hardships, Symeon insisted that it was the duty of every Christian to resist the Turks unto death. He continually preached endurance and other-worldliness; he constantly denounced "pusillanimity" and "supineness" (μικροψυχία and ῥαθυμία, two words often met with in his writings); he held public services of supplication or thanksgiving according to the vicissitudes of the fighting. He does not hesitate repeatedly to propound his view that the sufferings of the Thessalonians are simply a punishment for their abandonment of their lawful masters, the basileis of the Romans; he fails to discern anything but the pursuit of sensual pleasure, selfish ambition or ungodly libertarianism as the motivation of those who preferred Turkish or Italian rule. This was not fair in the case of capitulation to the Turks, and it is time we critically examined Symeon's public policy in these matters. Moslem holy law allowed Christians a tolerated legal status as "people of the Book" (i.e., of the Bible) if they voluntarily submitted to the emir's rule; whereas if they resisted to the last and had to be subdued by force, they forfeited that status and became the mere chattels of their captor, who could slay them, offer them for ransom, take them as his slaves or sell them as slaves to others, in which case they were subjected to almost irresistible pressure to apostatize.⁵¹ Symeon never mentions the above principle on which the Turks acted, though it is fundamental to an understanding of the politics

⁴⁸Ibid. 91.26-28.

⁴⁹BPHW 56.30-37.

⁵⁰See PBHW 172-74.

⁵¹There is at Ahmet-Aga (Prokopion) in Euboia a saint called John the Russian, whose relics were brought there by refugees from Anatolia at the exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey after the Smyrna disaster, and which have recently become the object of widespread veneration and pilgrimages; he was one of the captives who by superhuman constancy refused islamization, and that is the main reason for his recognition as an Orthodox saint. Hitherto unknown in Russia, John the Russian has recently been adopted as patron saint of a Russian parish at Ipswich, Mass., U.S.A.

of the period; and acceptance and application of it saved the lives, property and religious liberty of many Christian individuals and institutions. But Symeon regards the Turks as not really human—a race possessed of the devil (ἐνσώματοι προδήλως δαίμονες),⁵² Satan's chosen instrument against the elect in the latter days of supreme trial.⁵³ He deliberately paints their utter wickedness in such lurid colors that all rational discernment of their policy and motives becomes impossible.

After the pillage of Thessalonike in 1430 and the enslavement of most of the survivors, there was a strong reaction against the late archbishop. His die-hard policy of resistance to the end in the expectation that God and Saint Demetrios would miraculously save the city had proved worse than fruitless. While he uttered dire threats of anathema to waverers and plotters in his own flock and called upon all Orthodox Christians to stand fast unto death, was he not implicitly condemning those other leading members of the ecclesiastical world with great establishments comparable to his own—Patmos, Mount Athos, Achrida and the like—who had not scrupled to submit to the Ottoman yoke when they perceived that to be inevitable? It seems that this was not his intention; but in that case, how inconsistent of him! And what was he to make of the fact that the Palaiologan emperors John V, John VII and even Manuel II in his youth had voluntarily declared themselves the vassals of the sultans Murad I and Bayezid? One cannot help sympathizing with Symeon's critics to a large extent; in his Christian zeal and his hatred and fear of the Moslems, whose monotheism he regarded as 'atheism,' he was turning into a matter of inviolable dogmatic principle a question which most people in his day were beginning to recognize as a matter of free choice. Not half a year had passed since the fall of Thessalonike when, drawing inspiration, no doubt, from its terrible fate, the inhabitants of Ioannina, headed by their metropolitan, forestalled an attack on their city by surrendering voluntarily to the Turks and received in return the celebrated Decree of Sinan Pasha—a generous charter guaranteeing the immunity of their persons, their churches, their children and their lands. The Greeks of the area prospered for centuries under this dispensation, governed in most respects by their own Christian hierarch, having simply exchanged the Latin overlordship of the Tocco family (the counts of Kephallonia) for that of the sultans. Presumably, the same sort of thing might have been arranged for Thessalonike, too; and we have seen that a majority of the citizens would have preferred it. Alas, their sufferings during and after the long siege were in vain. And Symeon shared with the Venetians the blame for that.

It is then understandable that Symeon was not recognized officially as

⁵²BPHW 42.10.

⁵³Ibid. 83.3-84.18.

a saint in the fifteenth century. He might presumably have been proclaimed one by church circles in Thessalonike in the six months' interval between his death and the final catastrophe of the city; but after that the Greek reaction against him was too strong, and also the likelihood of a hostile Turkish reaction to his canonization had to be faced. There is another reason for the Church's official neglect of his memory at that time. Symeon was a prolific writer, astonishingly prolific considering his ill-health and all the unfavorable circumstances surrounding him. He was indeed an able writer, but an author good only for internal consumption within his own Church; while his attitude toward everything non-Orthodox was so negative that among modern theologians he cannot hope to be more than an interesting historical and literary curiosity (I say "among theologians" because I feel sure he will never cease to be read as an authority by less sophisticated people.). And here Symeon fell foul of many of his colleagues in the Greek hierarchy. He regarded the Latin Church as utterly heretical and deprived of grace with all its sacraments invalid. But a principal feature of his time was the movement to examine the possibility of reconciliation with the Latin Church and the Papacy, which culminated in the Synod of Ferrara-Florence in 1438-39. True, this was motivated for many participants only by the urge to try and obtain Western military aid; but there was also a sincere theological aspect to the movement. Symeon began writing letters to people in the capital, warning them of the danger that the calling of a universal synod would become a cause for disturbance rather than peace. His words were indeed prophetic, for in the long run Florence did do more harm than good. But for this he met with disapproval at Byzantium; his critics there, he says, thought him "burdensome, exaggerated, trying to teach his betters, a troublemaker, averse to peace."⁵⁴ And this was not the only field, it seems, in which he appeared as an immoderate person, unwilling to rally to majority opinion. So he was unlikely to be canonized on the initiative of episcopal and court circles. Most of his literary work died with him; ironically enough, all he wrote specifically against the Moslems, the Jews and the Latins perished⁵⁵ and is only now being unearthed and published by persons like me. He introduced a new form of service—a development of the ἁσματικὴ ἀκολουθία—into his cathedral; but that and his voluminous liturgical output also perished. What did survive and did play its part in the survival of Balkan Orthodoxy under Turkish rule was his great *Dialogue*; and it survived, I think, for its rich commentary on the prayer and the sacramental life of the Church rather than for its

⁵⁴See his letter B 7 to Makarios Makres in BPHW 93-97 and commentary on it, 219-28.

⁵⁵His main treatise against the Latins—the "Dogmatic and Hortatory Epistle" which I have edited as item B 13 in BETH 195-219—was indeed published by Dositheos in his Τόμος Ἀγάπης (pp. 554-68) in 1698, but only under the heading Ἀωνόμου κατὰ Λατίνων, so that no one recognized it as his.

heresy-hunting.

Symeon of Thessalonike has at last received the canonization which he deserved. But would it not be a pity if the two factors which prevented that from happening in the fifteenth century should turn out to be those which make his canonization acceptable and natural to Orthodox opinion in the twentieth?—I mean his hostility to all other Christians, particularly the Latins, and his insistence on the duty of physically resisting the might of the Ottoman Turks no matter what the consequences. It is wrong, I feel, to maintain that a man cannot be recognized as a saint unless all his convictions and notions are acceptable as God-inspired, and all his defects and idiosyncracies as good qualities. This simply results in warping the perspective and involving men in statements about ancient and medieval saints which are legendary or inaccurate. The saints then become stereotypes, edifying no doubt, but with little foundation in real history. But they are real human beings. Their apotheosis does not alter that fact; their holiness does not mean that everything about them is purely supernatural. They have a nationality, a temperament, a set of tendencies instilled in them by their upbringing and schooling. Every man has the faults of his virtues—a humble and timorous man, utterly devoted to self-effacing respect of sacred tradition, easily becomes narrow-minded and prejudiced; the wholehearted supporter of a theocratic regime, though his motivation be purely that of service of God, may fail to discern the faults of God's anointed and the fact that the Lord himself is withdrawing his blessing and support from him. Symeon did fall into these two excesses, but they were the by-products, so to speak, of his extraordinary humility, his capacity for self-dedication, his heroic constancy, his unworldliness and his ascetic outlook. Let us rejoice in honoring the memory of this outstanding man just as he really was, warts and all.

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SPIRITUAL LIFE OF A SCIENTIST

JOHN TURKEVICH

I AM HONORED to be asked to deliver the Florovsky memorial address to your society and particularly appreciative of the opportunity to pay public tribute to my dear friend and teacher, Father Georges. We spent the last decade of his life in close association. We talked together; we evaluated current news and old ideas together. We reminisced, we often ate together. We prayed together both at our homes and in church: vespers, matins, compline in the Trenton parish church, liturgy with an intimate student congregation and at majestic services in the Princeton University Chapel. Through all of these associations Father Georges has contributed in a subtle way to my own spiritual life.

As a student at the Novorossiysk University in Odessa, Father Georges had a deep interest in science. His first scholarly paper was sponsored by Academician Pavlov, the father of the concept of conditioned reflex. It dealt with one aspect of this important subject and it was published in the Proceedings of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Though his scholarly interests turned to philosophy, patristics, history, literature, theology, and ecumenism, Father Georges retained a limited, but at times, an incisive, interest in science. This was focused on the philosophy underlying scientific investigation. He was concerned with the problem of integration of different, individually consistent, scientific disciplines into one unifying whole. This is reminiscent of the problem faced in detail and in a far more sophisticated way by Clerk-Maxwell in magnetism, electricity and light, and by Albert Einstein in space, time, and gravitation. Father Georges was particularly intrigued by the famous Gödel theorem in mathematical logic that a logical system cannot prove its own consistency by its postulates. His approach to theology was to create a logical system and base it on Orthodox faith. It was not the "theology of gaps" mending with faith the cracks in the intellectual structure. It was a scholarly structure resting on the firm foundation of Orthodox Christian faith. Its spirit

*The Father Georges Florovsky Memorial Lecture given at the annual meeting of the Orthodox Theological Society of America, Greek Orthodox School of Theology, Brookline, Mass., 30, 1983.,

was expressed in the words of the Third Hymn of the Canon in the Eighth Tone of the Orthodox Matins:

In the beginning Thou has established the heavens by reason and founded the Earth on the waters. Establish me, O Christ, on the rocks of Thy commandments, for there is no one holy but Thou who alone loves mankind.

Father Georges and I often talked about the relations of science to faith, about the integration of significant findings and concepts of science with the fundamentals of Orthodox belief. We felt that in this task the experience of the fathers of the Church who incorporated the teaching of Christ into the fabric of Greco-Roman civilization, was particularly relevant.

My task is more modest. What I wish to do is to discuss the spiritual life of a scientist, to try to integrate in some manner my experience of half a century obtained on the university and scientific scene with the heritage that I have received from my Orthodox Christianity. While I have had for many years an interest in theology and of late made serious studies of it, my approach to Orthodoxy is that of a churchman. What I would like to share with you are ideas and concepts of modern science which I feel theologians should recognize as being important in this integration process.

Let me first quote from Professor Fedotov, a very apt definition of spirituality and its relation to secular society.¹

The term "spirituality" is used in various senses. In the broadest it defines the loftiest moral and intellectual qualities of man in his relation to God and to nature, to himself and to his fellowman. In social and cultural life, spirituality in this sense finds expression in the philosophy, art, and ethic of a nation or of a civilization. Wordsworth or Keats, for example, is highly representative of English spirituality as it is expressed in the Romantic Movement of the nineteenth century.

In its stricter or narrower connotation, spirituality is applied to the religious life in its innermost and deepest state, the life with God and all spiritual experiences arising from this source. Prayer is the center, the core of spirituality, and this is true not of mystical prayer alone...Spirituality, even in the specific religious sense is not confined to prayer but embraces the whole world outlook of the individual, particularly the ethical code which this religious experience inspires. In the art of the best epochs of civilization, religious spirituality is reflected; its rays, although gradually weakened, penetrate into the densest strata of social life, into political customs, the wisdom of the common man, folklore.

¹*Treasury of Russian Spirituality* (New York, 1949).

Fedotov, then, points out that these "dense strata of social life often distort these spiritual rays" and that Christian society is a "struggle for domination between Christian and pagan or secular forces." The Church "accepts all those elements which are reconcilable with Christian dogma and ethic."

The analysis that Fedotov gives to the interaction of Christian Church with paganism can be applied to the interaction of Christianity with the modern scientific world. We must realize that any articulation of this interaction involves the use of symbols—words, logical constructs, poetry, music, visual arts, personal attitudes, social action. However all of these have a basic shortcoming in understanding the ultimate source—the nature of the Godhead. This is eloquently stated by Reinhold Niebuhr who points out:

Making sense of symbols and professions of faith has always been the responsibility of the preacher and teacher. Since we must use symbols to define the reaches of the human spirit beyond definable knowledge, we must realize that these symbols are tangents toward the ultimate, and, therefore, fruits of human imagination. These symbols create a penumbra of mystery around every realm of meaning within the bounds of verifiable knowledge. The penumbra of mystery is able to enrich the realm of meaning, provided we are modest enough to distinguish the mystery of the unknowable from the tentative mystery of the unknown, which is constantly subject to diminution by the advancing knowledge. Such modesty might well be prompted by a suspicion that no neat system of coherence is able to comprehend the beauty and terror of life.²

This may be given an Orthodox riposte expressed in the Ninth Hymn of the Canon of Orthodox Matins in the Sixth Tone, a hymn sung at the Orthodox requiem service:

It is impossible for man to see God, on whom the hosts of angels do not dare to gaze. But through thee all-pure One, the Word Incarnate was revealed to men and we together with the heavenly host magnify thee, all-blessed One.

What does the Word Incarnate tell us? Behind the teachings of the Apostles, the writings of the Church Fathers, and the speculations of theologians, clearly stand the strictures of our Lord Jesus Christ:

Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul and with all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment. The second is like unto it. Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.

(Matthew 22. 37-40)

²*Saturday Review*, November 6, 1965.

The second commandment—love thy neighbor—is simple to understand, though often difficult to apply. The love of God is difficult to understand particularly on how one loves Him with one's own soul. This we will discuss later in our presentation. At present we will be concerned with how one loves God with the mind—the relation of scientific knowledge to faith—to spirituality. We must examine not only the nature of nature, the position of man in nature, but also the nature of our knowledge—how we know what we think we know and what is important in what we know.

For almost two millennia, the Bible was the main source of knowledge throughout the Christian world. The book representing “a dialogue between God and Man” (Florovsky) and using the symbolism of its time, not only contained the moral, ethical and religious teaching, but it also was a depository of many observations of natural phenomena. Education at that time was simple—know the Bible and you were educated. Abraham Lincoln's education came primarily from the study of the Bible.

During the last three centuries, there has been an explosive acquisition of scientific knowledge about the material world surrounding us, about the living world that we are part of, about other human beings with whom we interact. But at the same time science has weakened the faith of man in a Supreme being. It has made people callous and thick-skinned in their moral reactions. Science has dulled man's concern for the nature of the Ultimate. Pecking away with literal interpretations of the symbols of our forebears, whittling at the tenets of faith, man put logic over intuition, reason against faith. Arrogant in his scientific knowledge, he dared to think he knew or could know everything. But in his accumulation of scientific knowledge, he will never learn the ultimate: scientific knowledge may be infinite but it is bounded. We will learn more and more details, but conceptually we may not obtain anything more fundamental than that we already know.

As J. Robert Oppenheimer once said, “As the years go by, mankind is going to learn more and more, but no one of us is going to know much.”

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries under the influence of David Hume's positivist philosophy, and that of the encyclopedists of continental Europe, knowledge obtained by the five senses was considered preeminent. This was to be supplemented by contact with writings of ancient sages. The classics and outstanding contemporary works were added to the curriculum. The Great Books and the liberal arts colleges were the source of education. If one graduated from a liberal arts college and knew the Great Books, one was considered an “educated” man. The Bible which had been at the core of the curriculum was relegated to the position of being one of the Great Books.

The twentieth century exacerbated the situation. We are now flooded with information: radio, television, newspapers, magazines, third-class

mail, books, daily contact with numerous people—all contributing to the mass of information that presses on us. Our task is to determine the significant among the plethora of the irrelevant. There is so much information that it blends into noise. It is the responsibility of education to set up procedures which will permit us to discern signals from noise, to uncover those buried deep in noise and to formulate values for truth, beauty, moral behavior, and spiritual satisfaction. Spiritual values have been the concern of mankind for thousands of years. These are the values which differentiate man from humanoids. These values have been evolved over the ages, discussed, refined, freed from dross by outstanding individuals, encompassed into the culture of nations, and have been a stabilizing force in civilization. They have been the solace of many—a source of anxiety to some. They have inspired the finest aesthetic productions of man. Spiritual values form the basis for the behavior of man to man, a clue to the answer to the ultimate question:

“Why are we here?”

They are the guide to the search for the ideal, for the appreciation of the glory of God.

Nature of Scientific Method

FROM PREHISTORIC TIMES, man acquired knowledge of the world through his five senses: sight, hearing, touch, taste, and smell, with sight and hearing being the preeminent sources of information. The descriptions of nature in the Bible are based on data obtained through the senses. However, during the last four centuries and especially during the last one, a new approach has been developed extending enormously man's ability to study nature. This is particularly true for the sense of sight. We not only can see nature in various colors from violet to red, but may examine it with cosmic rays, microwaves, and radio waves. With our sharp eyes we can reveal detail only a tenth of a millimeter, but with our modern instruments we can see detail in the nucleus of an atom and in the outer reaches of the universe. As the knowledge of the ultimate building blocks of nature is unfolded, it is used to construct new instruments, more incisive in examining nature. Thus, the discovery and study of the electrons led to the construction of the electron microscope. This led to the study of viruses and also to the construction of the silicon chip so essential to the modern computer. This, in turn, opened new vistas in storing, classifying and analyzing data obtained in almost all fields of scientific inquiry. Thus, there is an ever-expanding horizon, with a positive feedback in man's explosive acquisition of knowledge of nature. This has been well expressed a hundred years ago by Alfred Tennyson in his poem “Ulysses.” Yet “all experience is an arch wherethrough gleams the untravelled world, whose margin fades as forever and ever as I move.”

Fundamental science, as distinct from technology, develops according to an internal logic of its own. Certain areas open up at certain times and not before. At present, spectacular developments are taking place in computer science, astronomy, and molecular biology. These developments could not have taken place a hundred years ago no matter how much money or manpower was dedicated to these fields. Now science is deeply embedded in the economic, political, military, and social fabric of the world which molds scientific activity to a certain extent but also is itself changed by science. There is a wide spectrum of scientific activity ranging from "small science" of individual scientists in small colleges and small groups associated with university professors, to "big science" involving large teams of investigators with million dollar budgets at large universities, industrial institutions and government laboratories. Since the cost of all proposed research projects greatly exceeds the amount of monies society is willing to expend, and since the cost of scientific investigation is very high, selection has to be made of those proposals, which should be funded. This selection is made on the basis of the relevance of the project to government and industrial needs and on its appropriateness to the scientific thinking of the "establishment" in the particular field. The latter, through "peer review," not only controls funding, but also publication of the research findings and ideas in the scientific literature. Thus, "big science" in industrialized nations dominates the world scientific scene. In spite of these limitations, science continues its explosive acquisition of unexpected knowledge.

As more and more scientific data piles on, and as this data is used to build a logical intellectual structure, we obtain more insights and deeper knowledge of the world around us. However, there is no assurance from this process that we or our descendants will ever obtain in this way alone the answer to the ultimate question:

"Why are we here?"

We must learn from other sources, particularly those based on Revelation for a satisfying answer.

Nevertheless, there are data and concepts of science that have relevance to the theological triad: man, nature and God. This is particularly so for man's relation to nature and to God who created nature and man. We shall consider man's position in space, his location in time, his representation in molecular biology and his relation to the humanoids. This will be done against the philosophical background of the very nature of human knowledge.

Man's Position in Space

ASTRONOMY AND COSMOGONY are areas of dramatic discoveries in the last century and particularly during the last decades. Bigger and more

sophisticated optical telescopes, orbiting telescopes, radio telescopes, and finer detecting devices; photographic plates, photoelectric tubes, image intensifiers combined with modern dataprocessing computers, all of these have literally extended the horizon of the sky. The moon, the planets, the solar system, the stars, and the galaxies are subjected to detailed scrutiny. The whole universe is studied in detail, its reaches established and its structural features delineated. Many questions are answered; many questions are raised and left unanswered. One question has found a definitive answer: "What is man's position in this array of planets, suns, stars, and galaxies that constitute the universe?"

Since ancient times and through the Middle Ages, man was considered by all (with the exception of Aristarchos, 310-230 BC) to be at the center of the world: the sun and stars rotated around the earth and man was at the center of the heavenly system. Copernicus showed that this was not so. The earth is one of the planets in the solar system with the sun at its center. Man is not at the center of the solar system, and the sun is merely one of the stars that we see spread across the night sky. In 1915, Shapley and Humason used the powerful Mount Wilson telescope to show that stars are bunched together in enormous clusters called galaxies. Our sun is a member of one such galaxy, the Milky Way. The one hundred billion stars of our Milky Way are arrayed in the form of a gigantic spiral and our sun is located in one of the arms of this spiral far away from its center. Beyond our Milky Way there are other galaxies a hundred billion in number and each, in turn, containing a hundred billion stars. The totality of all of these constitutes the universe. Our galaxy, the Milky Way, is not at the center of the universe, our solar system is not at the center of the galaxy, our earth is not at the center of the solar system. We must be humble—we are tucked away in an insignificant part of space. We must be sufficiently humble to realize that it is quite possible, and even probable, that among the mind boggling number of stars—one followed by twenty-two zeros—there may be other intelligent beings. Humanity may not be alone. We can only quote the Psalmist: "Oh Lord, how magnificent are Thy works, in Wisdom Thou has made them all."

Man's Location in Time

LET US NOW consider another fundamental concept—time. Man, early in his development, must have observed various cyclic time processes; the procession of the sun through the sky, the daily cycle of light and darkness, the monthly procession of the moon, the yearly succession of the seasons. There were also processes with characteristic time closer to his personal experience; the menstrual period of the females, the gestation period of infants, the life time of a species—birth and death. Other cycles were evident in the physical, biological and social world around him. Early in Greek

philosophy a fundamental question arose: "Is there a great cycle, the ultimate cycle with birth, activity and death of the whole world in which man is embedded?" Or is there a gigantic master plan, initiated and controlled by a Creator, a plan which has a beginning, a finite span, and an end in which we humans have a role. Is there a process with a time arrow indicating a significant past, a pressing present and a future envisaged by faith. Here the Greek mind clashed with the Christian Revelation. As Father Georges wrote:

The Greek mind was firmly addicted to the concept of an Eternal Cosmos, permanent and immutable in its essential structure and composition. This cosmos simply existed. Its existence was necessary, it was an ultimate or first *datum* beyond which neither thought nor imagination could penetrate. There was, indeed, much movement within the world, the wheel of origin and decay. But the cosmos as a whole was unchangeable and its permanent structure was repeatedly and unfailingly exhibited in the rotation and self-iteration. It was not a static world, there was in it an intense dynamism; but it was a dynamism of inescapable circulation. The cosmos was a periodical, and yet a necessary and immortal being, the shape of the world might be exposed to changes, it was actually in a constant flux, but its very existence was perennial. One simply could not ask intelligently about the origin or beginning of the cosmic fabric in the order of existence . . . It is precisely at this point that the Greek mind was radically challenged by the Biblical Revelation.³

The Bible opens with the statement:

In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth. The earth was without form and void and the darkness was upon the face of the deep and the Spirit of God was moving over the face of the waters and God said 'Let there be light' and there was light.

The Bible then proceeds to sketch out the stages of creation of the material and living world, culminating in the creation of man and woman. We then have in the Bible, in what Father Georges Florovsky calls "the dialogue between God and man," a prediction of the appearance of a Messiah, the earthly history and teachings of Jesus Christ and the mission of the apostles to bring about the Kingdom of Heaven so graphically described in the Revelation of Saint John 21. 6.

It is done. I am the Alpha and the Omega, the beginning and the end.
I will give water without price from the foundation of the water of life.

³*Collected Works*, 4, p. 39.

The same sweep of time is expressed in the Nicene Creed which begins with:

I believe in one God, the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth and of all things visible and invisible...

and ends:

I look for the resurrection of the dead and the world without end.

These biblical and Christian teachings raise important theological questions. What is the nature of God as distinct from the world he has created? Why did God create the world? If he created the world to develop according to certain physical and biological laws, how and when does He interact to produce "miracles"? These and other similar questions have been discussed extensively and in depth by many theologians. I hope that the data and concepts of science that I will present, while not presuming to answer these questions, will present the relation of faith and reason in modern light.

Modern man can distinguish a variety of time: physical, biological, psychological, sociological, and theological. We shall be concerned first with physical time—time whose progression into the future, and whose passage in the past, can be determined by objective measurement of the behavior of galaxies, stars, solar system, swinging pendulums, vibrations of crystals, optical properties of atoms, disintegration rates of atomic nuclei, and cosmic radiation in space. As we shall see, modern science shows that there was a time in the cosmologically distant past when there was no time. There was no setting of the sun, there was no procession of the seasons, no crystals, no atoms, no nuclei, no elementary particles—no physical evidence of time—only a uniform homogeneous space. Three distinct scientific disciplines; the red shift in the stella spectra, the radioactive nuclear decay, and cosmic radiation that fills space—all these indicate that *fifteen to twenty billion years ago* there was a tremendous explosion in this homogeneous space—a "Big Bang." Our universe was created at that time in the form of "exotic" elementary particles. This is the Alpha point of the Apocalypse so eloquently expounded by Teilhard de Chardin. The physical time arrow points from this act of Divine Creation.

These "exotic" elementary particles are now being made in the high energy laboratories and their properties studied. They have an ephemeral existence coalescing in an extremely short time into "ordinary" elementary particles familiar to all science students: proton, electron, neutron, positron, and photon. These "ordinary" elementary particles, in turn, formed atoms and then more and more complex molecules. These can now be recognized as the material of which all nature and man are made. During the early period of this synthesis stars were formed. These organized

themselves into galaxies and the galaxies into the universe which is still expanding from the original "Big Bang." About *five to six billion years ago*, our solar system was formed, and *four and a half billion years ago*, earth appeared and became the home for more and more molecules. The small molecules became the building blocks of the earth itself, its seas, its mountains, valleys and rivers. The unstable radioactive atoms in its core not only furnished energy to this planet but caused violent disruptions to its surface. While the basic elementary composition of the earth was the same then as it exists now, the atmosphere then was different. It consisted primarily of hydrogen and lacked the oxygen and nitrogen that surrounds us now.

The larger molecules became sufficiently complex not only to store information but to serve as templates to reproduce themselves. In this way information stored in a molecule could be preserved and reproduced. This was the origin of life. These molecular characteristics so essential to life found their ultimate expression in one class of molecules—the nucleic acids. In these molecules, carbon, hydrogen, oxygen, nitrogen, and phosphorous form long helical chains with information coded along the chain. Their helical structure permits the synthesis of their counterparts through formation of a double helix. The nucleic acids characterize genetically all living systems from plasmid, virus, bacteria, insects, fish, birds, mammals to man. There is both a basic unity and a diversity in the living world. The first living system arose about *four billion years ago* in the water pools and seas of the earth. Another important ingredient of living systems, the membrane, was evolved. A select group of chemical reactions were coupled together to produce reactions not attainable in noncoupled systems. The molecules necessary for this were encapsulated by a membrane. Unicellular organisms had evolved. Cells not only carried out coordinated chemical reactions, and preserved their genetic information, but also were able to produce a progeny which has the same characteristics—same characteristics up to a point.

A very infinitesimal fraction of the progeny can have variations in its genetic information and, therefore, in its characteristics. These variations are expressed in differences in the chemical coding of genetic information. These are produced by differences in the coupling of chemical reaction, by transformations of unusual chemicals, by the action of light and radiation or by incorporation of genetic information from viruses or bacteria. Most of these changes, mutations, are unfavorable to the viability of the cell. The unfavorable mutations die off. Favorable mutations, though infinitesimal, not only survive but reproduce and outnumber the original species. Thus, many mutations are necessary to produce a favorable one, but this is more than compensated by the greater viability of the favorable mutation and its better adaptability to the environment. The chemistry determines the variability; the environment selects. This is the

process of evolution, both on the molecular level and also on the biological level and higher level.

For many are called, but few are chosen.

Matthew 22.14

Three billion years ago unicellular organisms learned how to aggregate into multicellular systems which finally reached their apogee in man, an aggregate of a hundred trillion cells. While all these cells have the same constituents: nuclei, mitochondria, ribosomes, and membranes, and while they all came from the same original cell, they have "differentiated," specialized to form cells of the muscle, brain, stomach, etc. In the past, this took place in the evolution of each species. Now this takes place in the embryonic development of each individual. Differentiation of cells still remains a mystery on the molecular level, particularly in view of the observation that even though a cell has differentiated, it and its progeny still retain the information to produce *all* the different cells of the organism.

Two billion years ago sex was invented. Sexual reproduction favors the formation of a greater variety of organisms, since by this mechanism large sections of genetic information can be exchanged by the nucleic acids of the two partners.

Also *two billion years ago* a dramatic change took place in the nature of the life process and the source of energy for living creatures. Green algae, prevalent in ponds and seas started using the radiant energy of the sun to convert the carbon dioxide of the atmosphere and the water of the environment into starch and oxygen. The sun, with its thermonuclear reaction, became the direct source of energy for plant life and through starch the indirect energy source for the animal species. This opened up broad new avenues for evolution. The environment changed: the earth's atmosphere became filled with oxygen and nitrogen from the plant sources. This had a devastating effect on anaerobic organisms (those not requiring oxygen and poisoned by oxygen). They disappeared. Thus, the algae not only opened up new dramatic avenues for evolution, but by changing the physical environment they destroyed a whole class of life that preceded them. What the algae did in the very distant past, two billion years ago, man may do now by destroying himself and most of the living world by misusing the nuclear energy of the atom.

The tempo of evolution quickened. Then significant events took place in intervals of millions of years rather than those of billions of years. Life took on a more complex form with the appearance of fish at *400 million years*, dinosaurs at *200 million years*, birds at *165 million years*, mountain apes at *10 million years*, and southern apes at *one million years*.

At this point, there was a further acceleration in development of the living species. Then significant events took place at intervals of thousands

of years rather than millions. Humanoids appeared *750-500 thousand years ago*, went to live in caves and began to use fire. In the interval of *150-35 thousand years ago* the Neanderthal man hunted big game. The humanoids were clever in their use of hands, fashioned crude tools, could communicate with each other and express themselves in art.

At least *forty thousand years ago*, as determined from existence of funeral urns at a burial place east of Bagdad, a most significant event took place in the history of man on earth. In a "Garden of Eden," in some favorable locale, or most likely in a number of such locales, the humanoid realized the existence of a Supreme Being or beings. He realized that there were natural forces under control of such supreme beings, particularly controlling the extent of life and life after death. This was the evolution of humanoids into man; this was the creation of Adam and Eve. Thus, this was a significant event in biological time—this was the beginning of the theological time. As Feodor Dostoevsky makes Ivan Karamazov state:

What is strange, what is marvelous, is not that God really exists. The marvel is that such an idea, the idea of the necessity of God, could have entered the head of such a savage and vicious beast as man; so holy it is, so moving, so wise, and such a great honor it does to man.

A dialogue developed between the Supreme Being, God, and man. The realization of the existence of God and belief in Him distinguishes man from his predecessor, the humanoid. However, man was not able to realize even the slightest implications of this lofty belief in God. There was a fall—man and woman were expelled from the Garden of Eden. Man had to struggle through magic, idolatry and human sacrifices, various polytheistic religions until God chose the Jewish people to establish his monotheistic religion. The Bible is the account of this dialogue between God and man introducing a new type of time—*theological time*. The Bible established standards of morality, the recognition of sin and wrong, the qualities of pity, mercy and humility, and the satisfaction of extending love and charity. It emphasized the redeeming quality of faith as Saint Paul wrote to the Hebrews:

Now faith is the assurance of things hoped for, the conviction of things unseen. For by it, men of old received divine approval. By faith we understand that the world was created by the word of God, so that what is seen was made out of things which do not appear.

Hebrews 11.1

The Bible unfolds for us the theological time: the creation of the world, paradise, the fall, the evolution of spiritual life, through pronouncements of the prophets the prophesy of the appearance of the Messiah, the coming

of Christ, the redemption of the fall, the integration of Christ's teaching into the Judaic-Greco-Roman civilization and the promise of the perfect world, the Kingdom of God through faith. As Saint John wrote in the last book of the Bible:

Then I saw a new heaven and a new earth; for the first earth had passed away and the sea was no more. And I saw the holy city, the new Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband and I heard a great voice from the throne saying, "Behold, the dwelling of God is with men. He will dwell with them and they shall be his people. And God himself will be with them; he will wipe away every tear from their eyes and death shall be no more, neither shall there be mourning nor crying nor pain anymore, for the former things have passed away.

Revelation 21. 1-4

Let us return to chronology based on physical time. *Ten thousand years ago* man left caves and founded villages, the oldest (7000 BC) one known being that of Qualat Jarmo, a prehistoric archaeological site in the Kurdish hills of northeast Iraq. This village farming community suggested the existence of a settled agricultural life with buildings, pottery, domesticated plants and animals. An explosive development of communal life results in the appearance *five and a half thousand years ago* of cities in the Middle East. Written history appears and we are in the era of civilizations. About *two and half thousand years ago*, in the city states of Greece, man worked out his relationship to his fellowman in communal life, philosophy was established and an attempt was made to integrate knowledge. Two hundred years later public law and the principles of the body politic were formulated by the Romans.

Two thousand years ago, Jesus Christ, the promised Messiah, the Son of God, appeared on earth, and gave all those who believed in him a personal God. His teachings, his sacrifice for humanity by his crucifixion, his resurrection with its promise of man's salvation, his prophesy of the kingdom to come—all these projected theological time into the future and gave deeper content to faith, as Saint Paul wrote:

Therefore, since we are surrounded by so great a cloud of witnesses, let us also lay aside every weight and sin which clings to us so closely, and let us run with perseverance the race that is set before us, looking at Jesus the pioneer and perfecter of our faith, who for the joy that was set before him endured the cross, despising the shame and is seated at the right hand of the throne of God.

Hebrews 12. 1-2

The teachings of Christ and the implications of his mission were incorporated into the Judeo-Greek-Roman civilization by the Apostles and their disciples. The fathers of the Church developed on that basis a comprehensive relationship of man to man and, particularly between man and God. The ecumenical Synods formalized the dogma and canons, thus organizing the Christian church. This Christian civilization has flourished for over sixteen centuries. It would take a large library to account for its history, accomplishments, shortcomings, and disappointments. I will limit myself to a short statement of how it followed the strictures of Jesus in his Great Commandment.

Love the Lord Thy God with all thy mind.

This has been done through the ages by Christian philosophers, scientists, theologians, and by humble laity who glorified the obvious regularity in natural phenomena.

Love the Lord thy God with all thy heart.

This emotional approach has two aspects: art and prayer. The history of Eastern and Western Europe is replete with examples of how man responded to Christianity through his art. The Greek and Slavic icons, the mosaics and frescos, the painting of the Renaissance, the churches of Byzantium and Russia, the cathedrals of Western Europe, the choral music of the Eastern Orthodox Church, the compositions of Bach, Mozart, and Beethoven are just a few examples of man's yearning for God through his heart. European art can only be understood in the context of Christianity. These artistic expressions are symbols used:

To define reaches of the spirit beyond definable knowledge.

(Niebuhr)

Thus, Christian art is part and parcel of the spiritual life of a Christian.

Prayer is the center, the core of spirituality.

(Fedotov)

Prayer as we know it today evolved from the ancient mystical rites, through the temples and synagogues of the Jews to realize its Christian form in the Roman mass, the Eastern Orthodox liturgy, and the services of other Christian denominations: private prayers, daily prayers, prayers for the loved living, and prayers for the departed dead. They may be a realization of one's shortcomings and sins. They may be a cry for beneficence. They may be a glorification of the works of God. They may be occasional

or they may form a discipline with increasing spiritual value as the years progress. There is a richness in the worship of the Christian churches. In them the prayer may be said in private or may be hymned collectively. To those of the Eastern Orthodox faith it reaches a climax in the traditionally rich worship of the Divine Liturgy. Through worship we may refine our spiritual values and try to:

Love the Lord thy God with all thy heart.

Let us now examine the third stricture of the Great Commandment:

Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy soul.

The soul is the quintessence of man's spiritual world. In the Christian faith it can only be understood as part of the collection of souls—the Church. For Christianity is not only a "one on one" encounter with God, but is a community of believers united through Jesus Christ. We have his guiding statement:

For when two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.

Matthew 17. 20

As Father Georges Florovsky emphasized *unus Christianus nullus Christianus*—one Christian is not a Christian. The Church is concerned and intimately involved with the soul of its communicants. Through its ritual, it gives each of them an opportunity to express their love of God with all their soul. It accepts the soul at baptism, it nurtures it in the Eucharist, and at death it unites it with the souls of the departed saints. As a mark of continuity between the living and the dead, at each liturgy the congregation and the priest pray for both. The communal aspect of Christian spirituality becomes all the more important in modern times when the density of population has increased so markedly and when there is constant interaction between individuals of the same culture and between different cultures. This presents a whole new array of problems in social ethics: human rights, recognition and expiation of sins and transgressions of corporations and governments. The situation is further exacerbated by the ability of at least two powers to destroy the whole fabric of civilization and life through the use of nuclear warfare.

Let us now turn from theology to social chronology and see how the modern situation came about. At the end of the eighteenth century, power tools and engines started to replace hand tools and human labor. The industrial revolution which ensued brought with it economic affluence, but this affluence soon became dependent on the energy available to run these

machines. Ultimately, the standard of living in any country became proportional to the energy per capita that was available to the population. In time, the wind, water power, and the resources of the forest, all coming from the sun's energy, were found to be insufficient to satiate the ravenous appetite of man for a higher and higher standard of living. Greater and greater reliance is placed on the energy obtained from the sun in the past, energy stored by plants eons ago in coal and petroleum. However, even these extensive energy sources are limited. The population of the world is growing dramatically. These energy sources are not equally distributed among the nations of the world producing global unrest. In addition, even in the most affluent nations, wide and unjust variations in the standard of living torment the conscience of man.

During the time of Christ, the population of the earth was three hundred million and its energy consumption was 0.5 Q (where Q is a unit of energy equal to 38 billion tons of coal). In 1650, the population of the earth was 465 million and the energy consumption was still about 0.5 Q. In 1850, the population rose to 1100 million and the energy consumption was 9 Q, and in 1950, the population became 2200 million and the energy consumption became 15 Q. It is estimated that in 2050 the population of the earth will be 3500 million and the necessary energy consumption of 25 Q will not be readily available.

The atomic age was ushered in 1945, opening to mankind, at the expense of forty thousand lives, the energy stored in the uranium nucleus billions of years ago. The energy problem had been "solved" at an exorbitant price—the price of contaminating the earth's environment for ages, at the risk of nuclear accidents and with the threat of human extinction by nuclear warfare. The situation has been characterized by Winston Churchill during the debate in the House of Commons on the production of the hydrogen bomb:

It may well be that by a process of sublime irony we shall have reached a stage in this story when safety will be the sturdy child of terror and survival the twin brother of annihilation.

The fact that nuclear war is so horrid as to be dismissed as an instrument of foreign policy, was recognized by the leadership in the United States in the Baruch plan of 1948 but seems to be forgotten by our present leaders. Two decades later the Soviet leadership seemed also to recognize this, though there is a question whether it does now. Nikita Khrushchev reported the following on his return from Peking where Mao Tse Tung asked him for atomic weapons:

You Chinese want us to unleash a nuclear war and state that the Communists will survive the holocaust because there are so many more

Communists than people in the West and that the Communists will rule the West.

Khrushchev countered this proposal in profound words which were later echoed by President Kennedy:

Those who survive will be jealous of those who died.

Limited wars, though prevented from escalating into nuclear wars, are getting more and more hideous. They arouse moral indignation of peoples throughout the globe. For the conscience of the world is becoming more and more sensitive to atrocities as they are revealed by the remarkable developments of radio, television, satellite communication, and travel. These have made the world one. They have not necessarily deepened our moral response. Our judgement of what is right and what is wrong is not limited to our own town, our state, or our country. The subject for our judgement is presented in its complete fullness—all the humans on the earth, in all its reaches, in all its states and estates; the rich, poor, satiated, hungry, healthy and young, the sick and the old. Yet associated with this worldwide view is a diffuseness of moral responsibility as exemplified by the reaction of the pilot who dropped the first atomic bombs.

He adjusted his polaroids to mild intensity and looked down at Hiroshima. A large white cloud was spreading over the whole area obscuring everything and rising very rapidly. "Jesus Christ," he said, "if people knew what we were doing we could have sold tickets for \$100,000."

This is where man stands now after twenty billion years of physical time; after four billion years of biological time; after forty thousand years of theological time; and after two thousand years of Christian time. He stands at the brink of nuclear destruction. Science cannot save him. His only salvation is a miracle based on faith.

Man and Matter

Let us now consider the relation of man to matter—the stuff that he and all of nature is made of. We are encouraged to do this by the last prayer of the Orthodox burial service:

Earth you are and to earth you shall go.

The ancient Greek philosophers passed on to succeeding centuries the

that all matter was composed of four elements: earth, fire, water, and air and that the different manifestations of matter were merely differing combinations of these four elements. These concepts were taken over by the Fathers of the Church. At the turn of the eighteenth century into the nineteenth, it was shown that these four Aristotelian elements were actually composed of smaller building blocks, the chemical elements. At that time a strategy for studying the elements of matter was evolved and this strategy is still in use. Matter is broken up into more elementary fragments by applying greater and greater amounts of energy to smaller and smaller and smaller portions of matter. The fragments so produced are detected and characterized quantitatively by more sensitive and more discriminating detectors. The numerical characterization so obtained is fitted into a theoretical structure to insure consistency and reliability. During the last three centuries the energy sources were successively: fire, electricity, radioactive rays and particle accelerators with energy increasing from 0.2 electron volts to 512 billion electron volts. (The average energy in the visible part of sunlight is 2 electron volts.) The detection devices were also developed in a fantastic way. The eye can distinguish two points separated by a tenth of a millimeter (one million hydrogen atoms). Reinforced by modern microscopes, it now can see individual heavy atoms. Some of the other important detecting instruments are the photographic plate, recording discs and tapes, cathode ray tubes (television cameras are cathode ray tubes) and solid state devices. These were first developed for the investigation of the structure of matter. Now they have found widespread use in communication and entertainment. To avoid errors, both accidental and systematic, the data so obtained is analyzed, systematized and incorporated into an ordered self-consistent system by individual scientists. This process is now being carried out more and more by computers. During the last three decades an increasing amount of information can be stored on chips no bigger than a finger nail. The data so stored can be individually identified, can be processed according to any predetermined logical scheme, can be collated with other data and the results can be readily extracted. All these operations can be carried out in a millionth of a second permitting processing a staggering number of steps.

At the present time the study has uncovered two classes of "exotic" elementary particles, each eight in number, which are considered the ultimate building blocks of matter or "for that matter" of space. These "exotic" elementary particles have a very short life, a hundredth millionth of a second, and seem to have existed for ephemeral instant of time during the creation of the universe. The history of man's search for the ultimate building blocks of matter makes us conclude that man never will find the ultimate particle. He will be limited in this search by the resources that he will wish to expend on building powerful accelerators and more sensitive instruments. The problem is not only epistemological, but economic.

We shall not consider these “exotic” elementary particles but will start our discussion of the relation of matter to man with the now readily available elementary particles: the proton, neutron, electron, and positron. Their properties and interactions have been well established. The proton and the neutron combine in definite ratios to form nuclei of the different chemical elements: helium, lithium, etc. up to uranium which consists of 92 protons and 145 neutrons. While some of the properties of the different atomic nuclei can be deduced from the properties of their component elementary particles, many such, as stability, cannot be deduced. In part this is due to a purely mathematical limitation: while the motion of two bodies can be determined analytically, this cannot be done for three or more bodies. Recourse must be made to various approximate approaches to the solution of the multibody problem. This problem also has an epistemological aspect. As the number of interacting entities in the system increases, a number is reached when new unpredictable properties arise. This is an expression of the Hegelian principle of “quantity changing into quality.” A “Creative act” takes place with the whole becoming greater than the sum of its parts. In the analysis of the whole, we can identify the component parts and their role in the complex whole. This is reductionism. On the other hand, we cannot predict all the properties of the whole from those of the interacting parts: atoms from elementary particles, molecules from atoms, living cells from molecules, plants and animals from individual cells, society from humans, the Kingdom of God from the brotherhood of man.

Let us consider now how atoms combine to form, ultimately, man. Of the ninety naturally occurring elements, only a small fraction are the major components of living systems, whether these be viruses, plants, animals or man. These major elements are carbon, oxygen, hydrogen, nitrogen, phosphorus, sulfur, sodium, chlorine, potassium, and calcium. Another group of elements such as iron, copper, cobalt, zinc, manganese play a minor but significant role. Other elements such as gold, silver, platinum do not occur naturally in living systems.

Carbon is unique as being the material basis for life. This is, undoubtedly, due to the ability of carbon atoms to link with each other in three or four different directions to produce chains, rings and even cages. Theoretically, one can envisage an infinity of various carbon compounds. To date almost a million carbon compounds are known compared to less than ten thousand compounds of all the other elements. Carbon is unique among the elements in being the only source for the enormous variety of compounds, some of which are chosen by the evolutionary process to carry out the chemistry of life. No other element could or can replace carbon in this role.

Oxygen also plays a key role in the present biosphere. As pointed out

earlier, gaseous oxygen arose in the second phase of our biosphere being a link between the sun's energy, the plants, carbon dioxide, water, starch, and the respiration of animals. Oxygen is unusual in that it is the only naturally occurring gaseous element that has a magnetic moment and this magnetism is important in regulating its reactivity. While reactions of gaseous oxygen with carbon compounds are the basis for life processes predominant now on earth, oxygen will not react with a given carbon compound unless another molecule, an enzyme or catalyst is present. There is a wide variety of enzyme molecules both for the activation of oxygen and for initiating and accelerating almost all biochemical reactions. These catalyst molecules have specific information coded in them, and this in turn, requires a certain minimum size and well-defined complexity to carry out the regulating process.

The universe contains 10^{79} (or ten followed by seventy nine zeros) atoms mostly those of hydrogen. Humanity consists of 10^{38} units, a miniscule fraction of the material world. Man consists of 10^{28} atoms. How are these organized in man and in the living world that he is part of?

There is a unity in structure and function of chemical compounds throughout the living world. Not only are the same chemical elements present, but they are present combined in the same complex compounds whether they are functioning in viruses, bacteria, plants, animals or man. The carbon, oxygen, hydrogen, nitrogen, phosphorus, and sulfur combine to form sugars (parts of starch), fatty acids (parts of fats), amino acids (parts of protein), and nucleic acids (parts of DNA and RNA). The amino acids and nucleic acids differ markedly from the sugars and the fats in that, on combination with each other, they offer an infinite number of different compounds. The twenty-three different naturally occurring amino acids give a pool of an infinite number of proteins from which a small fraction is used for the chemistry of the living cell. Also the four nucleic acid bases, placed along a molecular strand formed by a linear aggregate of sugar-phosphate units, gives an infinity of different forms of DNA and RNA. There is a correspondence between these two pools. The DNA and RNA store information that characterizes the proteins. The protein molecules and the DNA-RNA strands contain from ten thousand to millions of atoms. At this stage of complexity a new property appears in the DNA and RNA but not in the proteins; namely a facile propagation of this information by replication utilizing the molecular geometry of the double stranded helix of DNA and RNA. In this way molecular structure that stores genetic information is passed to other cells in the same chemical way for such divergent organisms as bacteria, insects, birds, animals, and man. The same chemical elements, the same complex molecules, the same molecular biology is involved. Their diversity and individuality arises from the length of DNA strands and from the specific arrangement of nucleic acid bases along the strands. This is subsequently

transcribed into diversity and individuality of the protein molecules and biochemical reactions. In the past, the unity of some parts of the biosphere had been shown by similarity in anatomical features between man and apes, and by the similarity of various stages of the embryonic development of the human fetus with that of other living species. Now this unity can be seen throughout the biosphere, in the similar structure of the DNA in all the diverse species. Furthermore, the complexity of the DNA molecule increases as one ascends the evolutionary ladder. The closer the two species are to each other, the greater the overlap of a single strand of DNA of one species with that of the other species. In particular, the linear DNA strand of a mouse overlaps a larger section of that of a rat, while it overlaps only a small portion of that of man. The extent of the overlap of DNA of one species with that of another can be used to determine the evolutionary closeness of the two species.

In a given living individual, all the cells, whether they are cells of nerves, muscles, brain or stomach lining, carry the same genetic information. Although in the first stages of embryonic development they became differentiated to become specialized cells, they still retain information to produce, on call by an unknown mechanism, all the different specialized cells of the individual. Furthermore, these cells reproduce without mistake millions of time. Molecular mechanisms edit the products of replication and normally excise the rare mistakes which, unless removed, may lead to cancer, other diseases or death.

The information stored in the DNA characterizes the various proteins which carry out the life processes of the cell. A specific triplet of bases in the DNA strand transcribes for one of the naturally occurring twenty amino acids that make up the protein. In addition, there are triplets which start the transcription and end it. There are also sections of the DNA which, while they contain information, do not transcribe it. These sections seem to be remnants of previous evolutionary ancestors which have lost their utility but have not been excised from the DNA.

Thus, the DNA represents the first and universal language on earth. It has the same letters throughout the living world. The combination of these letters leads to words which represent amino acids. It has its own grammar indicating the start and end of sentences. It is highly resistant to change, and when mistakes occur in replication, there is a molecular mechanism for editing out the mistakes. It has its archaic sections which are not transcribed. It is the universal language of life again emphasizing the unity of the living world.

Another of the many interesting features of the DNA indicates that the average lifetime of a species is coded in its DNA.⁴ Consider the following experiment in tissue culture. A nutrient medium in a flat Petri

⁴L. Hay Flick, *Scientific American*, January, 1980, p. 58.

dish is inoculated with cells of a given species. The cells grow in a layer of one or two cells thick until they reach the edge of the glass Petri dish when they stop growing and eventually die. If some of the viable cells are transferred to another Petri dish, they resume growth until they reach the edge of this new Petri dish and then they stop growing and die. The transfer procedure can be carried out a number of times but this number is fixed for each species, being greater for species higher in the evolutionary ladder. For humans it is forty-two times, for mice only fourteen. Thus, the DNA of a given species must have information which characterizes the mean lifetime of its members. Death is biologically built into each organism. A cancer cell is different—lifetime seems to be infinite. In a Petri dish it grows in a multilayered mass. It can be transferred from one Petri dish to another with ease. Thus, the HeLa cancer cells from a patient who died several decades ago are still viable and are used in cancer research throughout the world. The cancer cell is immortal.

Man has forty-six chromosomes and thirty to forty thousand genes containing in their DNA ten to a thousand million atoms. The amount of information that characterizes a human individual is equivalent to the amount of information recorded in fifty volumes of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*. Furthermore, each human individual, except an identical twin, is unique. Humanity may not be alone in the universe, but here on earth each one of us (unless he is an identical twin) has his own unique attributes recorded in each of his trillion cells. This is not only information on the color of eyes, the length of his legs, the size of the brain, but also some more subtle concepts like those of space, time, causality, and the realization of a Supreme Being.

MAN AND KNOWLEDGE

IN OUR DISCUSSION of the relation of man to nature and to God, we have reached a point where we must examine what we mean when we say we know something. As we have indicated earlier, up to the beginning of the eighteenth century our knowledge came from the simple use of our five senses, from the Bible and from the teachings of learned men of faith. The scientific revolution, and particularly the theory of evolution, had weakened the authority of the Bible as the source of knowledge about nature. After a strong confrontation between the Book of Nature (science) and the Book of Faith (the Bible), a truce was declared. It was conceded by proponents of both that each represented a different approach to the nature of reality, and that they had little relation to each other.

But this is not so. There is an interaction between the two. In the past, the simple senses permitted man to know nature and other men about him. Love of God was enhanced by the realization of the beauty of nature and the regularities in its phenomena as revealed by the unassisted senses. Metaphors and imagery based on these were used and are still used to describe God and his attributes. In the past, man's view of his human

surroundings was parochial. He only knew his immediate neighbors who often were closely related to him genetically and culturally.

Now, the range of our senses has expanded extensively and intensively. With our telescopes we can see the outer reaches of the universe. With our microscopes we can magnify objects ten million times, seeing individual atoms. Now, in a matter of hours, we can communicate with anyone living on this earth. Now, in the matter of a few days, we can go anywhere on the earth—in fact we have gone to the moon. Now, we know more and more about what is happening and what has happened in the past throughout this world of ours. We must now learn to live with people of different cultural and genetic backgrounds.

The future is in our hands. The five senses and the scientific information obtained by them is not sufficient to guide us. We must have faith in the future, and this faith is based on attaining a spiritual quality in our individual and collective lives. In formulating such a spiritual life in the scientific age, we must try to integrate all the factors of modern living into one structure. While the "Book of Faith" and the "Book of Nature" are different, they do interact and in some areas overlap.

A fundamental question arises, "Do we know anything beyond what we learn from our senses?" René Descartes in the seventeenth century said: "Yes, man has innate or *a priori* knowledge of the world." The French Encyclopedists in the eighteenth century, and David Hume in the nineteenth century: "No, the senses are our only source of knowledge." According to the positivist philosophy, men and women come into this world with a "Tabula rasa," a clean slate. This slate is gradually filled with a representation of reality as "visualized" by the senses. This constitutes knowledge.

During the last two centuries, positivism has dominated the viewpoint of scientists having a greater effect on humane and social scientists than on the physical scientists. As was pointed out by G. Stent,⁵ Until recently physical scientists did not depend on progress for the philosophical underpinning of their theories. The validity of physical theories is tested by experiments. However, during the twentieth century the situation has changed. The explosive extension of the range and sensitivity of our five senses has unfolded a world of experience foreign to what man is used to in his everyday life. This has raised the question in the mind of some leading scientists as to whether there is a limit to scientific understanding of the world around us. This limit is not only due to the limit in the response of the senses, but is due to the limitation of our inborn transcendent concepts. René Descartes and Immanuel Kant were right—man comes into this world with transcendent knowledge which both helps him, and at the same time, limits him in acquiring knowledge of the world around him.

In the human and social sciences, as G. Stent points out, the nineteenth century positivism had a dominant influence. It stressed the accumulation

⁵*Science*. 187 (1975), p. 1052.

of raw data as obtained by the senses and a set of propositions obtained by inductive inference. Thus, in ethnology, Franz Boas collected information on the personal behavior and social relations of different ethnic groups, classifying them by their usefulness to their society. The general conclusion was that man was highly adaptive to the variety of conditions that he met on this earth. In linguistics, Ferdinand de Saussure and Leonard Bloomfield collected data on elements of the spoken language, and classified them according to assumed patterns. These patterns turned out to be so varied and arbitrary that they did not furnish a deep insight into any universal properties of the mind.

In the twentieth century the hold of positivism on scientific thinking in the human and social sciences gradually weakened. In the first place, as G. Stent points out, there was an increased appreciation of a basic philosophical flaw in the whole positivistic approach. According to positivism, our knowledge of causal connections between events and regularities which we observe is based on inductive reasoning. This proposition cannot be demonstrated logically nor can it be based on experience. Consequently, the concept of inductive reasoning is brought by man into this world and is not derived from experience. Knowledge of inductive reasoning is transcendent.

Secondly, the responses of our sense organs are modulated, controlled and limited by the brain. For instance in hearing, the interval between two successive notes must exceed a certain value in order that they be recognized as two notes. There must be a finite time for the nerve response from the first note to relax in order for the brain to recognize the second note. Otherwise, the nervous system may be saturated.

In vision, we have some insights into how the brain processes the data obtained by the eye. In the case of the frog, the process is relatively simple. Its brain recognizes two visual structures "my predator" or "my prey." The frog responds accordingly: it either "flees" or it "attacks." In higher organisms, and specifically in man, the data processing of light signals received by the eye is especially complex. However, some of the initial steps have been identified. The lens of the eye focuses the light onto a hundred million optical cells of the retina. These cells have associated with them a million ganglion cells of the nervous system, so organized that a circular field of one hundred optical cells is associated with one nerve cell. At this point, the first data processing takes place. A nerve signal is produced whose intensity depends on the ratio of the optical signal at the center to that at the periphery of a circle of optical cells of the retina. These nerve signals are transferred through the brain to the cerebral cortex at the bottom of the back part of the brain, where they are processed by two types of cells: simple and complex. One type of simple cortex cells recognizes signals from the retinal ganglion cells that lie along a bright vertical background and produces a strong signal. If the bright line is tilted

from the vertical the signal disappears in this type of simple cortex cell. A specific complex cortex cell recognizes a parallel array of such bright straight lines. The above are just the most elementary examples of how light signals received by the eye are processed by the brain to give a "perception" of what is seen. The process is transcendent, innate, brought into this world by an inheritance coded in the DNA. The mind, the counterpart of the brain, is the locus of his perception. It represents the inner man, the soul of man. Science makes its existence evident, but is unable to disclose its nature. The nature of man is disclosed by faith, based on the synthesis of his whole experience based on transcendent concepts, the major one being that of love of God who created us, and whose purpose we are called to identify and to execute.

Structural linguistics (Noam Chomsky), structural ethnography (Claude Levi-Strauss) and abnormal psychology (Sigmund Freud) represent futile attempts to understand the nature of the inner man. The structural approach assumes that there are two levels of human activity, the outer level and an inner structural level. The outer level has many exterior aspects which are distortions of the inner self of man. The inner structure is revealed through a set of translation rules, which because of their arbitrary nature, weaken the deductions that these studies give. Yet language plays an important role, being "necessary for our orientation in our surroundings and for the organization of human communities." While our language is suitable for formulating our daily experience, it is inadequate to do this for the results obtained by modern science. This inadequacy represents another limitation on man's ability to know himself.

While modern physics has shown us the limitations on our knowledge of the physical world, it has offered us, through Bohr's Principle of Complementarity a model, applicable beyond the realm of physics.

In classical physics, once the position and the momentum (velocity times mass) of a material object is known at a certain time, one can calculate, with unlimited accuracy, its position and momentum at any future time or at a time in the past. This is an expression of determinism.

Modern quantum physics has shown that for atomic and subatomic particles this is not so. The Heisenberg's Indeterminacy Principle states that it is impossible to determine simultaneously both the position and the momentum of an atomic object with unlimited precision. The higher the precision in determining the momentum of an object, the lower the precision in determining its position. The two entities, position and momentum, are said to be complementary. Since there is an indeterminacy in specifying the initial conditions, this "vagueness" will be present in all subsequent calculations for this system. Another important application of the Heisenberg Principle is in our knowledge of energy of a system at a given time. The shorter the lifetime of a state of a system, the greater is the indeterminacy in specifying the energy of that state. Again, energy and

time are said to be complementary entities. Quantum mechanics has formulated rules for identifying such complementary entities and specifying the extent of the indeterminacies.

Niels Bohr, one of the founders of the quantum theory, has extended the concept of complementarity beyond the realm of physical science. As the first example of such complementary entities, let us consider consistency (logic) and completeness. The best way to be consistent or logical in a given problem is to have one fact, in other words have a very incomplete view of the problem. As one envisages more and more facts as relevant for consideration of the problem, the more difficult it becomes for one to order them in a logical scheme. This is the dilemma that faces a serious scholar: "How broad a field must he attempt to consider regarding a given subject to give it a logical consistency?" If he takes too narrow a view, his work becomes trivial; if he takes too broad a view, then he may suffer "intellectual constipation."

Faith and reason can be considered as complementary entities. Reason without some modicum of faith is incomprehensible. One must have, at the very least, faith in the reasoning process. It is of interest to note that Godel showed that a logical system cannot prove its own self-consistency by its system. One must take its basic postulates or axioms on faith. God cannot be seen at the end of a logical syllogism no matter how sophisticated the syllogism be. Neither can God be seen at the end of a telescope, no matter how powerful the instrument is. God is to be seen through an act of faith complemented by reason. The Great Commandment states:

Love the Lord thy God with all thy heart . . . with all thy mind.

The differences between the different Christian denominations may be due to how they divide their love of God between the heart (faith) and mind (reason).

The complementarity principle can be applied to ethical problems. In particular, justice and mercy can be considered as complementary entities. In passing judgement in any moral situation, we cannot always demand justice "eye for eye, tooth for tooth" nor can we "throw the book of law at the accused." On the other hand, mercy cannot be meted out in all situations. Another ethical question that faces man individually and collectively is, "Does the end justify the means?" Tolerance and intolerance are other examples. A tolerant individual is often intolerant of an intolerant attitude. Nationalism and internationalism can also be considered as complementary entities. In the name of nationalism many societies have committed heinous crimes. On the other hand, mankind is not prepared as yet for the ideal of internationalism, the Kingdom of God. Sensitivity of our spiritual leaders to the evils that surround us must be contrasted to the "thick-skinned" attitude of many. With the

availability of information from the whole world with the threat of a nuclear holocaust, a very sensitive individual might get despondent about the fate of humanity. However, to be completely insensitive to the ills, sufferings and evil premonitions of our fellowmen and women, would be to ignore the basic tenets of our faith and the teaching of Jesus Christ.

Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.

In all these situations man exercises his supreme attribute—of making moral and ethical judgements. Man is not merely a thinking machine. Man is not just a social being with means of communication. Man is more than that. He is a creature who has faith in the future, with the power and freedom of exercising moral judgement. In the modern world, with close interaction of many, some with different cultural backgrounds and historic antagonisms, moral judgements are difficult to make: they are in the grey area. "How much mercy should be blended with justice, how much short-term suffering will justify a long-term gain?—These judgements often involve doing harm to someone, or to some segment of society. These harms should be recognized as such by a sensitive individual, but should not color completely his personal life nor warp his *Weltanschauung*. The Christian churches offer a mechanism for sustaining faith through these moral dilemmas by periodic examination of one's sins, confession, absolution and partaking of communion. This way one participates in the mystery of Christ's redemption of the world and identifies his faith with the love of God.

Conclusion

WE ARE EXPERIENCING an explosion in science and technology. It has had, and is still having, a widespread impact both for good and evil. It has given a higher standard of living to a larger fraction of the world population, yet almost one third of the world is hungry. It has increased the quality of life and the life span of many, yet a third of the peoples of the world are sick. We have, through communication and travel, learned about the peoples of different cultures, yet we harbor deep-seated suspicions and dangerous antagonisms. We have developed a system of personal ethics but are lacking a generally accepted communal morality. While in many countries personal freedom is enjoyed by many, most of the population of the earth suffers under widespread violation of their "human rights." Furthermore, our condemnation of these violations is strongly colored by our ethnic bias. We have forgotten the stricture of our Lord Jesus Christ:

First, take the log out of your own eye, and then you will see clearly to take out the speck that is in your brother's eye.

(Luke 6. 42)

We see terrorism for nationalistic and ethnic causes destroy innocent people. In our concern for national security, we have developed weapons that can destroy not only our "enemies," not only ourselves, but most of the population of the earth: human, animal and vegetable. We have reached the stage in time when our fate, the fate of our children, the fate of civilization, rests on the decisions of a handful of men who do not talk to one another. We must unite with all persons of goodwill, with all who acknowledge that God created us to do good, with all who believe we should preserve the human existence to attain the Kingdom of God. We must unite with all of them to use the real and present threat of human annihilation as a source of unity and not of discord among all the peoples of this earth.

In addition to that, we Orthodox churchmen and theologians have specific responsibilities to discharge. Scientist, medical people, social workers, politicians, and many concerned citizens are waiting for our guidance to important questions that can only be satisfactorily answered by faith—faith based on an integrated spiritual life. "When does human life begin? When does human life end? Is making weapons of ultimate destruction ever justified?" We must set our house in order. We must come to grips with antiquated metaphors and similes in the formulation of our theology. We must show a larger world congregation that the data and concepts of science have barriers that reason cannot hurdle. We must proclaim that the sense of our being can only be attained through the integration of all present and past experience, both materialistic and spiritual. For us of Orthodox faith, the path that we should take is well marked by the teachings of Christ, by the writings of the apostles, through the deliberations of the fathers of the Church as expressed in the Nicene Creed, through the sacraments and the daily offices of the Eastern Orthodox Church, and, ultimately, for all of us Orthodox, in the participation in the Eucharist.

This is the path we should follow as we attempt to synthesize for each of us a spiritual life, invoking the prayer recited at the end of the Matins in the First Hour service:

Direct my steps along Your words, so that nothing ill prevails against me. Save me from mankind's calumny and I shall preserve Your commandments. Let Your face shine upon Your servant and teach me Your statutes. May my lips be filled with Your praise and I shall hymn Your glory and Your magnificence all the days.

Glory to the Father, and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit. So it has been in the past, is now, and ever shall be. World without end. Amen.

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The Affair of Alexis and Roman: Two Documents of 1361

JOHN L. BOOJAMRA

THE ROLE OF THE Byzantine Empire was fundamental to the growth and development of the Russian nation, and more particularly, of Moscovite power in the fourteenth century. While the political influence of Byzantium is generally agreed upon, the contribution of the Byzantine Orthodox Church is all but ignored except for the work of a few scholars such as Meyendorff and Obolensky.¹ Nowhere is this quintessential influence more evident than in the appointment of two metropolitans, Roman and Alexis, to the primatial See of Kiev in 1354. The affair and the two key documents which are its primary source are the focus of this study. The value of this paper rests in making these texts available in English translation; for the background and narrative. I have relied heavily on the recent normative work of Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, and his earlier article devoted to this incident.² The presentation of these two documents necessarily involved an introductory treatment of the complicated series of relationships among fourteenth-century Russian principalities, of the Russian Church in these affairs as both ecclesiastical and political agent, and finally, of the growth and development of the authority of the Patriarchate of Constantinople and its ties to its Russian dependency.

The role of the Byzantine Church and its ecclesiastical policy for the Balkans and Russia was essentially an extension of that empire, an empire now relatively powerless in the face of the Ottoman onslaught and occupation. As the empire reached its political and geographical nadir, the Russian daughter church became a significant part of the ecclesiastical structure of the Byzantine Church.³ The policy of the Byzan-

¹Dimitri Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth* (London, 1974), pp. 338-50. More significant is the normative work of John Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia* (New York, 1981).

²John Meyendorff, *Russia*, and idem, "Alexis and Roman: A Study in Byzantine-Russian Relations (1352-1354)," *St. Vladimir's Seminary Quarterly*, 11 (1967) 139-48.

³Vitalien Laurent, *Les Regestes des Actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople*, Vol. 1/4 (Paris, 1971), #1247, #1257. Before our period, documents related to the Church of Russia

tine Church was essentially an extension of the diplomatic efforts of the imperial government to maintain control over affairs in distant and disparate Russian principalities. The Orthodox Church continued to play this role in Russian ecclesiastical life right up to the Council of Florence (1439) when Prince Basil II, acting independently of the unionist administration in Constantinople, arrested the Metropolitan Isidoros of Kiev for agreeing to the hated union and replaced him with Jonas.⁴

From the perspective of the decline of Byzantium during the fourteenth century, it is of note that as the political and military situation worsened, it was the patriarchs and leading ecclesiastical officials who moved into the power vacuum created by retreating bureaucratic structure, much as did the bishops in the Western Empire in the fourth and fifth centuries. It fell to the Church, not only to maintain the universalist vision of the political oikoumene, but also to oversee the growth and expansion of the Russian Orthodox Church among the competing centrifugal political entities in Russia. The Patriarchate of Constantinople had not only to maintain a Byzantine presence at a time of military and economic decline, but also to nurture a Church to which it had given birth in the ninth century and to protect it against indigenous threats.

After the unionist fiasco of Michael VIII (1272-82) which was followed by the Ottoman digestion of the Byzantine frontiers, and after the rise of the aggressive Balkan states of Bulgaria and Serbia to challenge Byzantine ecclesiastical and political leadership, the only institution which maintained, at least on paper,⁵ a universalist structure so characteristic of the Byzantine oikoumene was the Orthodox Church. It played, in a sense, the psycho-social role of 'world maintenance.' More importantly, however, it contained an important element of Byzantine spirituality, namely hesychasm, which saw the Church and the life of the Church as quite distinct from that of the empire.⁶ This was the revolutionary nature of the Byzantine church of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In the

are relatively few. One dated May, 1228, from the pen of the Patriarch Germanos II (1223-1240), is addressed to the Metropolitan Cyril of Kiev and all Russian bishops warning them against alienating ecclesiastical property or ordaining slaves. This same patriarch, in addressing Pope Gregory IX on questions of ecclesiastical union, boasted of the many nations subject to the Constantinopolitan Patriarchate and especially the "innumerable Russians."

⁴George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1969) p. 563 ff.

⁵Heinrich Gelzer, "Ungedruckte und ungenügend veröffentlichte Texte der *Notitiae episcopatum*," *Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Abhandlung en der philosophisch-philologischen Klass.* Vol. 21, 3 (Munich, 1903), 597-601.

⁶See the account of Gregory Palamas' discussion with Muslim Turks as captive in 1354 in John Meyendorff, *A Study of Gregory Palamas* (London, 1964), 105-07; even more to the point, see Donald M. Nicol, *Church and Society in the Last Century of Byzantium* (Cambridge, 1979), p. 73.

period under consideration, a series of aggressive hesychast patriarchs, Isidoros (1347-50), Kallistos I (1350-53), Philotheos Kokkinos (1353-54), Kallistos (1355-63), and Philotheos Kokkinos I (1364-76)—expressed a clear notion of the power, authority, and independence of the Church in the face of a decaying empire. The Church expanded its influences among Orthodox outside of the empire, often at the service of imperialist needs; it also managed to pursue policies independently of the empire and even at odds with the perceived needs of the empire as in the cases of the politically inspired union efforts of those of John V Palaiologos (1355, 1369). The patriarchal acts of the period are filled with expression of this sense of independence and universal concern, solicitude, and even authority which echo in papistic tones. Consider the position taken by Philotheos Kokkinos, one of the patriarchs involved in the incident of the Metropolitans Alexis and Roman. In 1370 he wrote to the Russian princes regarding their secession from Metropolitan Alexis, then acting as regent for young Prince Dimitri, the heir of Ivan II of Moscow:

Since God has appointed our humility as a leader of all Christians found everywhere in the oikoumene, as protector and guardian of their souls, all of them depend on me, their father and teacher.

He went on to explain that since he cannot be everywhere on earth to teach, he selects the best men to ordain as pastors and sends them to the ends of the universe.⁷ It is not out of order to suggest that a universalist ecclesiology came to replace a universalist imperialism, and Russia was an area where this came to be expressed in a particularly aggressive and clearly defined fashion. The Church was no longer just a department of state.

The ultimate political and ecclesiastical goal of the Byzantine empire and Church was to maintain a unified and centralized administrative structure over the expansive and diverse Russian Church. This may have been unrealistic, but it was, nonetheless, official policy; Gregoras, the mid-fourteenth century historian, referred to this as fundamental to the governance of the many-peopled (ἔθνος πολυανθρωπότατον) Russian nation which was “placed under a single high-priest,” subject to the Patriarch of Constantinople.⁸ He was consecrated, or at least appointed,

⁷Franz Miklosich and J. Muller, *Acta et diplomata medii aevi sacra et profana, Acta patriarchatus Constantinopolitani*, 2 vols. (Vienna, 1860, 1862), I, 521. (#M.M. below).

⁸Nikephoros Gregoras, *Byzantina Historia*, ed. L. Schopen (Bonn, 1821), 3.512-13. Patriarch Anthony and his synod in 1389 notes that the Russian Church from the beginning had but one leader and teacher to hold the numerous people together. See M.M. 2, 116-117; also Meyendorff, *Russia*, 82-83, notes that no regular synods were held as required, for instance, by I Nikaia Canon 5, G. Rhalles and M. Potles, Σύνταγμα τῶν θεῶν καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων (Athens, 1855), 1, 124-25.

by the patriarch and his synod (σύνοδος ἐνδημοῦσα).⁹ This centralizing policy was fundamental to understanding the fourteenth-century relations between Constantinople and the various Russian principalities. Russia controlled much of Byzantine trade with the Baltic and could create economic havoc for Constantinople. It was this political and economic importance which determined the Greek Metropolitan of Kiev as a type of Byzantine 'consul' to the Mongol Horde at Sarai, under whose suzerainty most of Russia existed since 1240.¹⁰ This centralized administration was maintained under the name and in the person of 'the Metropolitan of Kiev and All Russia,'¹¹ through whom the patriarchate maintained its prestige in Russia. The loss of Asia Minor, the economic and ecclesiastical heartland of the empire and the Church, was a severe spiritual, emotional, and economic shock. All that remained in Asia Minor, in spite of the fifty-six metropolitan sees recorded by Andronikos II, were a few cities pathetically awash in a Muslim sea.¹² The area was effectively Ottoman and Muslim.¹³ Russia offered a spiritual and economic safety valve; the very extent of the country and the piety of its princes and numerous people guaranteed income to a desperate Byzantine Church and government.¹⁴

The two documents presented here relate directly to the unity of the Metropolitanate of Kiev and the need to maintain peace among the feuding Russian principalities. To maintain control over Russia, the Byzantine government appointed Greeks to the Metropolitanate of Kiev and All Russia with several early exceptions. With the thirteenth-century decline in imperial power an alternating pattern appeared either by formal agreement, accident, or political necessity in which Russian and

⁹Jean Darrouzès *Recherches sur les 'Οφίκια de l' Eglise byzantine* (Paris, 1970). See Theodore Balsamon, Commentary on Canon 28 of Chalcedon in Rhalles and Potles, 2, 284 for electoral procedures and patriarchal control over "barbarian lands."

¹⁰G. Vernadsky, *A History of Russia, III: The Mongols* (New Haven; 1953), pp. 165-66, demonstrated toleration towards the Orthodox Church, and especially the hierarchy. Tax exemption was common and Byzantine appointees received quasi-diplomatic status from the Horde. They, in fact, acted as diplomatic agents, used for international contacts. The metropolitan was the political subject of the prince, whose authority was exercised in virtue of the Horde.

¹¹The designation 'metropolitan' in Byzantine ecclesiastical tradition was the title of the bishop of the chief city (μητρόπολις) of a province (ἐπαρχία) within the Roman Empire. Being urban agents, bishops in the fourth century were not identified with dioceses; dioceses in civil parlance were in fact groups of provinces.

¹²See *Notitiae* of Andronikos where the structure of the church in Anatolia was maintained in a skeleton outline. See Gelzer, "Ungedruckte," pp. 599-601.

¹³See Speros Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley, 1971).

¹⁴See the case of Simeon of Moscow's gift in 1347 to John VI Kantakouzenos for the restoration of Hagia Sophia's collapsed apse in Gregoras, 3. 198-200.

Greek candidates were appointed in sequence.¹⁵ Whatever the explanation, it is clear that Byzantine weakness encouraged local princes to nominate their own candidates, shortcircuiting Byzantine ecclesiastical imperialism. The power of the Metropolitan of Kiev and All Russia was great and extensive and relatively unchecked since the size of the nation discouraged episcopal opposition or even an annual or semi-annual provincial assembly as required by First Synod of Nikaia, Canon 5.¹⁶ The power he exercised was certainly greater than that of the average Byzantine metropolitan and comparable to that of the patriarch himself. In effect, he made all decisions, occasionally referring important matters to the patriarch and his synod in distant Constantinople (Tsargrad).¹⁷

This was in Byzantine terms an anomalous canonical situation. The Byzantine Church within the empire maintained a relatively consistent form of ecclesiastical administration by which the given district (diocese) was coterminous with a civil district.¹⁸ In areas outside of the *oikoumene*, however, the metropolitan or ecclesiastical administration was to provide a unified administration for 'each nation' (ἐκάστου ἔθνους).¹⁹ Neither situation applied to Russia where the metropolitan's jurisdiction crossed several political and even ethnic frontiers. Could such an artificial and anomalous situation last for long? Could the Ecumenical Patriarch and his synod continue to appoint metropolitans at so great a distance from Constantinople?

The problem in the Russian situation was, therefore, both the number of metropolitans and metropolitan cities as well as the location of the

¹⁵Meyendorff notes that between 1237 and 1378 there was an alteration in Greek-Russian metropolitans. This was an expression of Byzantine realpolitik, which enabled the Byzantines to hold on to their Russian ecclesiastical colony. See Meyendorff, *Russia*, pp. 88. Gregoras, 3. 512-13, however, claims that this was a deliberate policy: "From the time when this nation embraced the true religion and received holy baptism of the Christian people, it was decided for all times that it would be governed by a single high priest. . . and that this primate would be subject to the throne of Constantinople. . . ; he would be selected alternately from among that nation [the Russian] and from those who were born and raised here [in Constantinople], so that after the death of each, there would be an alternation in succession for the ecclesiastical primacy." This he maintains is not the situation and the text of Gregoras is not accurate as a basis for historical conclusion. See V. Parisot, *Livre XXXVII de l'histoire romaine de Nicéphore Grégoras. Text grec complet donné pour la première fois, traduction française, notes philologiques et historiques*. (Paris, 1851), pp. 6-8. Meyendorff, *Russia*, p. 88; also Meyendorff, *Alexis*, p. 147 n3. Byzantine documents as in the Praxis of Kallistos indicates that such an alteration was not a political policy but an act of condescension. The Praxis by which Alexis was appointed indicates that it was an act of condescension and contrary to custom (εἰ καὶ οὐδὲν ἦν σύνηθες διόλου καὶ ἀσφαλὲς τοῦτο τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ) and condoned it for Alexis "alone" (εἰς αὐτὸν δὴ τοῦτον καὶ μόνον τὸν Ἀλέξιον). All future metropolitans were to be Greek (M.M.I, 337-33).

¹⁶Rhalles and Potles, 1, 124-125.

¹⁷Maximos of Sardes, *The Ecumenical Patriarchate in the Orthodox Church* (Thessalonike, 1976), p. 273.

¹⁸Rhalles and Potles, 1, 123-124; Canon 4 of 1 Nikaia.

¹⁹Rhalles and Potles, 1, 45; Canon 34 of the Holy Apostles.

one or more metropolitans or metropolitan cities; this is highlighted by the fact that at this time and from the beginning of the fourteenth century several prominent political centers competed with each other for leadership of Russia—Galicia, Moscow-Vladimir, and Lithuania. The city of Kiev in Galicia, however, became of symbol of unity; to possess either the city or the episcopal title became important. Thus, each of these centers at different times, and under different circumstances, sought to impose its own candidate on the Metropolitanate of Kiev or, failing this, to divide the metropolitanate in order to provide separate ecclesiastical leadership and independence for its own territory.²⁰

As early as the beginning of the fourteenth century, Prince Yuri (1301-08) of Galicia requested a metropolitan from Constantinople; the Emperor Andronikos and the Patriarch Athanasios I agreed to elevate the diocese of Halich to metropolitan status with no explanation given.²¹ Although the original text of the Act is lost, the decision is recorded in the famous *Notitiae Episcopatum* of Andronikos II which records the revised ranking of all the metropolitan sees subject to the Patriarchate of Constantinople.²² From a letter of Casimir of Poland (1370), we learn that the first metropolitan was a certain Niphon.²³ When Niphon died, Athanasios of Constantinople was confronted with two candidates: Yuri proposed Peter to replace Niphon as Metropolitan of Galicia; Michael of Tiver, the Grand Prince of Vladimir, proposed Geronty for the Metropolitanate of Kiev and All Russia. In a brilliant demonstration of the realpolitik of which Byzantine ecclesiastics were capable, Athanasios appointed Peter, the Galician candidate Metropolitan of Kiev and All Russia.²⁴ In 1309, Peter (1308-1326) arrived in Russia and took up his residence, not in Kiev but in Moscow within the territory of the Grand Princes of Vladimir. The Metropolitan of Kiev and All Russia had not resided in Kiev since the Mongol conquest of 1240 rendered it financially unable to support a bishop.²⁵ Peter did not yield jurisdiction over either Vladimir or Kiev, even though he resided in the city of Moscow. From

²⁰Meyendorff, *Russia*, p. 78. H. Gelzer, "Beiträge zur russischen Kirchengeschichte aus griechischen Quellen," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 13 (1892) 246-81. The Grand Principality of Galicia in the southwest (ἡ Μικρὰ Ῥωσία) consisted of the diocese of Halich, Vladimir-in-Volhynia, Peremyshl', Lutsk, Turov, and Kohlm. The cities of Chernigov, Polotsk, and Smolensk shifted back and forth between Galician and Lithuanian control during the mid-fourteenth century expansion of the latter.

²¹See Gelzer, *Notitiae*, 599; also *Regestes*, #1592.

²²Gelzer, *Notitiae*, 599, #81. Gelzer, *Beiträge*, 254-55. Franz Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches (565-1453)* (Munich-Berlin, 1965), 5 #2270.

²³M.M. I, 577-78: In the "Pittakion of the Krale of Lachia" Casimir of Poland exaggerated the antiquity of the metropolitanate of Halich (= ἐξ αἰώνος αἰώνων μητρόπολις ἡκούετο ἡ Γάλιτζα).

²⁴Meyendorff, *Russia*, p. 92, note 62.

²⁵*Ibid.*, p. 78.

Moscow he attempted to exercise his ecclesiastical authority over dioceses outside of Moscow's political jurisdiction; he traveled to Vilna, for instance, and asserted ecclesiastical sovereignty over Lithuanian territory.²⁶ The ambiguity of his position as Metropolitan of Kiev, residing within the capital of the Princes of Vladimir, and exercising jurisdiction over the territory of their opponents, cannot be overstated.

When Peter died on 20 December 1326, a year after moving his headquarters to Moscow, Constantinople selected the Greek Theognostos to replace him (1328-53). Theognostos, perhaps one of the most famous of early Russian churchmen, pursued the traditional Byzantine policy of a single unified metropolitan eparchy (province), encompassing the political frontiers of Lithuania, Moscow, and Galicia. He settled as could be expected in Moscow and was politik enough to travel to Halich where he consecrated a bishop, effectively excluding its metropolitan claims.²⁷ We can safely assume that the events of this early period played no significant role in the affairs of Constantinople since Athanasios, one of the most prolific writers to occupy the throne of Constantinople, mentioned neither Russia nor any of these appointments.²⁸

Another focus of leadership in fourteenth-century Russia was Lithuania, more immediately involved in the issues of the affair of Alexis and Roman. Although still pagan in the middle of the century, the population included large numbers of Russians of the Orthodox faith.²⁹ Lithuania, like Galicia, was subject to Western and Catholic influence, especially the crusading zeal of the Teutonic Knights, Poland, and Hungary. Casimir of Poland (1333-70), a faithful Catholic, for instance, was not fond of the Orthodox and was encouraged by Pope Benedict XII to crusade against the "schismatic nation of the Russians."³⁰ Lithuania, as well as the Western Catholic nations, sought to expand at the expense of Galicia and Volhynia. Meyendorff concludes with special significance for the two documents here presented that "here lies one of the keys to the understanding of the relations between Byzantium and Moscow in the fourteenth century, as opposed to the more cautious attitude of Orthodox Byzantium towards Western Russian principalities of the period."³¹ Simply, Constantinople feared Catholic pressure on Western Russia.

Although many Orthodox lived within Lithuanian territory, the leadership had not yet become Orthodox by the mid-fourteenth century.

²⁶Meyendorff, *Russia*, p. 78.

²⁷John L. Boojamra "Athanasios of Constantinople: A Study of Byzantine Reactions to Latin Religious Infiltration," *Church History*, 48 (1979) 27-48.

²⁸Alice-Mary Talbot, *The Correspondence of Athanasios I* (Washington, D.C., 1975).

²⁹Meyendorff, *Russia*, p. 77.

³⁰*Ibid.*, p. 65.

³¹*Ibid.*, p. 55.

Lithuanian leaders at various points in their contacts with the Byzantines promised conversion in exchange for a separate metropolitan. Joining the Orthodox commonwealth within the metropolitanate of Kiev would have per force placed Lithuania under Mongol influences, because, first, the metropolitan resided in Moscovite territory under Mongol suzerainty and, second, the Byzantines maintained friendly relations with the Mongols of the Golden Horde. "Hence, the preoccupation of the Lithuanian Grandprinces with obtaining from Byzantium a separate metropolitan for Lithuania. . . ."³² The other option, equally unattractive, was domination by one of the zealous Western Catholic powers. Moscow for its part accepted the distant Mongol domination and used it as a lever for its own rise to power within the Russian hodge-podge of principalities. The Byzantines, and especially the emperor John VI Kantakouzenos, favored the growth of Moscow as the locus of Russian unity free of the threat of Catholic domination and influence which the geographical proximity of Poland, Hungary, and Germany threatened.

During the early part of the century, the Lithuanian Prince Gedymin succeeded in obtaining a metropolitan from Andonikos II and the Patriarch John XII Glydes, Athanasios's successor (1315-19).³³ Its center was in Novgorodok (Νοβογραδοπούλιον), the ancient Lithuanian capital since replaced by Vilna. When the Metropolitan of Lithuania, Theophilos, died in 1330, he was not replaced; the metropolitanate, however, was not dissolved.³⁴

Both Princes Simeon of Moscow (1341-54) and Olgerd of Lithuania (1341-1380) made determined bids for leadership of a unified Russian nation, such bids presupposed the support of the Russian primate, who with the virtual destruction of Kiev by the Mongols in 1240, lacked a residence. Olgerd expanded his territory by occupying Vohlynia, central Russia, Briansk, Smolensk and, finally, Kiev in 1362. Although his people were largely Orthodox, he remained until just before his death a pagan (fire-worshiper = πυρσολάρης).³⁵

During the civil war (1341-47) between John VI Kantakouzenos and the regents for the young John V Palaiologos, Ann of Savoy and the patriarch John Kalekas, the Byzantine policy of a unified metropolitan district was reversed temporarily. For a variety of political factors, well

³²Ibid., p. 58.

³³Louis Brehier, *Les Institutions de l'empire byzantin. Le Monde byzantin* (Paris, 1948), 2, 436-37. John VI Kantakouzenos suppressed the Metropolitanate of Galicia (1347), see M.M. 3, 261-63; (Meyendorff, *Russia*, Appendix 1, 280). A *post factum* approval of imperial move by the synod was evident in M.M. 1, 267-71.

³⁴M.M. 1, 425.

³⁵M.M. 1, 523 (1370); M.M. 2, 12 (1380); cf. Gregoras, 3.517-18 who notes that Olgerd was as might be expected of a northerner, a sun worshiper who would have become Orthodox if he had received his "own" metropolitan as successor to Theognostos. He did become Orthodox before his death.

covered elsewhere,³⁶ the Bishop Theodore of Halich was appointed as Metropolitan of Galicia, independent of the Metropolitan of Kiev and All Russia.³⁷ In 1347 with the victory of his party, John VI Kantakouzenos, in the name of the Synod and Patriarch, provided that the Metropolitanate of Halich be dissolved and "the most holy bishoprics of Little Russia, that is to say Halich and the others, be immediately united under the most holy Metropolitan of Kiev." The whole of Russia, Great and Little, was to be tended by one metropolitan "who would bear the title 'Most Honorable Exarch of All Russia.'"³⁸ The patriarch had received a request from Simeon of Moscow, accompanied by a sum of money, requesting the suppression of the Metropolitanate of Galicia.³⁹ To Dimitri of Vladimir-in-Vohlynia, the patriarch wrote:

You know that since the time when the nation of the Russians received the knowledge of God and was illumined through Holy Baptism, it has been the accepted custom and law that there be in the whole of Russia, Great Russia and Little Russia as well, a single metropolitan: the one of Kiev.⁴⁹

The Patriarch Isidore summoned the Metropolitan of Halich to Constantinople for judgement.⁴¹ For the remainder of his metropolitanate, Theognostos (1347-53) was the only Metropolitan of Kiev and All Russia. Following Peter's policy, he faithfully supported Moscow's rise to power.

Under Gedymin, Lithuania continued to grow in power, setting the stage for what Meyendorff refers to as the "inevitable confrontation" between the grand principalities of Lithuania and Vladimir-Moscow—a confrontation which was to constitute "the greatest challenge to the traditional scheme of Byzantine policies in Russia."⁴² The Metropolitanate at Novgorodok had been vacant since 1330, with the death of Theophilos. As long as Moscow remained the residence of the Metropolitan of Kiev and All Russia, Gedymin's claim to leadership was hollow.⁴³ After 1347 only three options were available to Olgerd: to obtain a metropolitan for an already existing metropolitanate (Novgorodok), to have the metropolitan of Kiev and All Russia translated to Novgorodok, or to have the metropolitan of Kiev returned to the city of

³⁶M.M. 1, 164; see for discussion Meyendorff, *Russia*, p. 154, note 26. He had Peter canonized in 1339; M.M. 1, 191.

³⁷M.M. 1, 270; Meyendorff, *Russia*, pp. 158-59. As Meyendorff notes political conflict in Constantinople had repercussions in the Russia eparchy. He also notes the role of Genoa and its economic policy. See Ostrogorsky, *History*, pp. 531-33.

³⁸M.M. 1, 261.

³⁹Gregoras, 3.198-200.

⁴⁰M.M. 1, 265.

⁴¹M.M. 1, 261-71.

⁴²Meyendorff, *Russia*, pp. 162-63.

⁴³Gelzer, *Beiträge*, p. 261.

Kiev, now within his territory.

In 1352, Olgerd tried the first option without success. He sent Theodore to Constantinople with a request that he be consecrated as metropolitan of Russia.⁴⁴ Patriarch Kallistos flatly refused, if for no other reason than that Theognostos was alive, albeit ill since 1352. Theodore finally received consecration from the Patriarch of Bulgaria at Trnovo.⁴⁵ Apart from the obvious Bulgar-Serb-Lithuanian anti-Byzantine alliance, this move broke with the Byzantine myth of a commonwealth whose navel was the God-guarded city of Constantinople with its heavenly metaphors. At any rate, Theognostos functioned as Metropolitan within Olgerd's territory, including Kiev.⁴⁶ The patriarch immediately excommunicated Theodore and warned the bishops of Russia not to recognize his authority.⁴⁷ He was excommunicated for reasons political as well as ecclesiastical.

The account of the events surrounding the double appointment of metropolitans to the See of Kiev and All Russia is recounted in the two accompanying documents: Synodal Praxis Concerning Russia and the Metropolitan of Lithuania, and Correspondence to the Metropolitan of Lithuania, both found in among the rich collection of fourteenth-century documents in *The Acta Patriarchatus Constantinopolitani*. The proximate events began on 6 December 1352 when the Greek Metropolitan Theognostos, being ill, consecrated the Russian abbot Alexis as bishop of Vladimir and metropolitan vicar in Moscow. Since Vladimir was the residence of the Metropolitans Theognostos and Simeon, the Prince of Moscow, had effectively designated Alexis as heir apparent to the Metropolitanate. To assure this, Theognostos wasted no time sending an embassy to Constantinople to gain recognition for Alexis and heading off any effort by other princes to claim the symbolic title to the Kievan see. The mission was successful; Alexis returned to Moscow, but upon finding that Theognostos had died on 11 March 1353, he returned immediately to Constantinople where, after a year's delay, he was officially appointed to the metropolitan see of Kiev and All Russia. On 30 June 1354, Philotheos Kokkinos, the then patriarch since November 1353, officially agreed to Alexis' transfer from Vladimir to Kiev with his

⁴⁴Meyendorff, *Russia*, 164-69; *idem*, "Alexis," 142; recorded in Philotheos' Letter to Moses of Novgorod in 1354 (in M.M. I, 350,) in which he also excommunicated Theodore. Moses was leaning towards recognizing Theodore, rejecting Alexis' primacy, and breaking the unity of the Russian ecclesiastical structure.

⁴⁵M.M.I, 350; Maximos of Sardes refers to the ordination by the "Archbishop of Trnovo"; see Maximos, *The Ecumenical Patriarchate*, translated by Gamon McLellan (Thessalonica: Patristics Institute, 1976), 273. Bulgaria possessed its own patriarchate between 1235 and 1393.

⁴⁶M.M. I, 352 (Philotheos to Moses); see J.L. Fennell, *The Emergence of Moscow, 1304-1359* (Berkeley, CA. 1968), 122.

⁴⁷M.M. I, 350.

residence in Moscow.⁴⁸ In the meantime and for political reasons the Patriarch Kallistos had been dismissed by Kantakouzenos and replaced with Philotheos in 1354.

Olgerd was busy during 1354 trying to establish his own candidate, Theodoret, in place of Alexis; Philotheos, however, supported the candidate of Moscow and received additional backing from the Golden Horde through the agency of the Bishop of Sarai—the horde also preferred Moscow to Vilna as the center of ecclesiastical life.⁴⁹ The metropolitan's residence was officially transferred from Kiev to Vladimir, in order to undermine Theodoret who still occupied the city under Olgerd's tutelage.⁵⁰

The victory was temporary, because in November, 1354, John Kantakouzenos abdicated in favor of his son-in-law, John V.⁵¹ Philotheos, a familiar of Kantakouzenos, was also removed from the patriarchate and replaced by Kallistos (1355-1363). The now exclusively Palaiologian regime sought a more balanced approach, as did the Horde, and opposed the rising power of Moscow. Olgerd abandoned Theodoret since he now represented an anti-Byzantine side best left behind in favor of a new policy towards Constantinople. Roman was consecrated as metropolitan. No official text of the events of 1354 were preserved but the details are outlined in Kallistos' Praxis of 1361. Although his original description of the event was vague, it does seem from the resulting scandal that it was implicitly a consecration to the See of Kiev and All Russia. Russian chronicles noted that "in Tsargrad two metropolitans for the whole of Russia were consecrated by one patriarch—Alexis and Roman."⁵² Whatever the original designation, the clarification of Kallistos' Praxis of 1361 was unequivocal. Roman was, regardless of his original designation, to be the metropolitan (τῶν Λιτβῶν). Both Olgerd and Roman, however, continued to function as if Roman's was a universal jurisdiction. For Olgerd, although not yet a Christian, "the Lord Alexis was not acceptable as metropolitan in the nation which was under Olgerd's rule, but his goal was to find means with Roman's help of ruling Great Russia."⁵³ The issues involved in the affair of Roman and Alexis were issues involving the leadership of Russia.⁵⁴

The first document, Text 1, is a "Synodal Praxis Concerning Russia

⁴⁸M.M. 1, 336-340.

⁴⁹M.M. 1, 347.

⁵⁰M.M. 1, 350-351; Meyendorff, *Russia*, p.168.

⁵¹Ostrogorsky, p. 531.

⁵²E.G. Golubinsky, *Istoria Russkoi Tsarkvi Tserkvi* (Moscow, 1900) 2, 184, quoted in Meyendorff, "Alexis," p. 143. Gregoras mistakenly describes the appointment of Roman before Alexis and still under Philotheos; see Gregoras, 3.519. The actual sequence is in the Praxis of Kallistos (M.M. 1, 426).

⁵³Praxis of Neilos, 1381; M.M. 2, 12-13.

and the Metropolitan of Lithuania." It is the only document which outlines the events of the double appointment and the resulting confusion in Russia. In fairly accurate terms, this synodal action called for a local hearing to clear up confusion and end the abuses attendant on the existence of two metropolitans in the same districts since 1354; the text outlines the ecclesiastical abuses and anomalies, as well as the scandals, bribes, even murders, generated by the situation in violation of canonical norms which were all but ignored as Roman overstepped his original charge which is here, presumably for the first time, defined as Metropolitan of the Lithuanians (Μητροπολίτης τῶν Λιτβῶν). The resulting confusion (καينوτομία), so repugnant to the Byzantine mind, and conflict caused great scandal in both Constantinople and Russia.⁵⁵ Both Alexis and Roman returned to Constantinople in 1355-56, each to argue his position and defend his actions. Kallistos, in his "Synodal Praxis and Letter to Roman," Text 2, also dated in 1361, notes that at that time the limits of each were clearly determined and that, in fact, Roman continued to overstep his bounds. The Metropolitan of Lithuania was limited to Polosk, Turo, Novgorodok, and the five dioceses of Galicia and Vohlynia.⁵⁶ The settlement of 1355-56 "reaffirmed" Alexis as Metropolitan of Kiev and All Russia. Although Roman was severely reprimanded for his excesses, he not only controlled more territory than any metropolitan of either Galicia or Lithuania before him, but also refused to abide by the settlement and, according to the Praxis (Text 1) and the Letter (Text 2) continued to intervene within Alexis' canonical jurisdiction. Even after his return from the settlement in 1355-56, Roman travelled through the diocese of Kiev and even followed Olgerd's armies into Briansk.⁵⁷ Meyendorff notes that Roman's obvious dependence on Olgerd's armies may well have confirmed Alexis in his support of Moscovite political goals, and eventually led him to ignore his pastoral duties in territories outside of Moscow's.⁵⁸ Initially, however, Alexis had sought to win support in his dioceses, and even within Lithuanian territories, where he travelled between 1358 and 1360.

Kallistos attacked the scandals and the anticanonical situation instigated by Roman's aggressive pursuit of power and ordered in the Praxis an assembly of bishops and rulers, where proximity permitted their gathering to air all of the charges against Roman. This was to be Roman's hearing; he was invited to attend in person or to send his men if

⁵⁵ Gregoras, 3.519-20; καينوτομία was one of the greatest offense to the Byzantine mind, for which unity and harmony were metaphors of the Divine Kingdom. See D. Nicol, *Church and Society in the Last Centuries of Byzantium* (Cambridge, 1979), p. 26. καينوτομία usually identified heresy, deviation, destructive disorder.

⁵⁶ M.M. 1, 426.

⁵⁷ M.M. 1, 428.

⁵⁸ Meyendorff, *Russia*, p. 187.

he could not attend personally. Regardless of his attendance of representation, the assemblage was to take place, written complaints heard, and reports made to the emperor in writing by two patriarchal apocrisaries, the deacon George Perdikes and the Metropolitan of Keltzene.⁵⁹ In all of this Kallistos continually referred to the emperor, who practically since the time of Constantine and *de jure* since the time of Justinian was responsible for the boundaries of ecclesiastical dioceses. Kallistos was obviously amazed with the scandals and especially the shedding of Christian blood in an effort to gain political leverage; furthermore, he had evidently come to share the view of Kantakouzenos and Philotheos on the value of a unified metropolitanate. This scandalous situation continued until Roman's death in 1362 and the Mongol's abandonment of their temporary pro-western policy. Alexis' influence was correspondingly increasing within territories controlled by Olgerd.

Most political decisions are double-edged swords, and while the death of Roman created peace within the Church of Russia, Olgerd's original complaint remained valid: Alexis represented the interests of the principality of Moscow. This identification was all the more emphasized when in 1359 Prince Ivan II died and left Alexis as regent for his son Dimitri. This created problems inasmuch as Dimitri's territory, over which Alexis exercised political charge, did not correspond with the larger limits of his metropolitan district, which included Galicia and Lithuania. Alexis was metropolitan and pastor of regions which were politically hostile to the principality of which he was regent.

Between 1364 and 1370, the Byzantines demonstrated complete support for Alexis of Moscow. By 1370, however, things began to change as the politico-ecclesiastical alliance with Moscow became a liability for the Church in Polish-controlled territory. Alexis stayed away from the southeastern regions and ignored the pastoral needs of the Orthodox of Galicia. As late as 1370, the Patriarch Philotheos Kokkinos, having returned to the throne on the death of Kallistos, heard some complaint by the Catholic Krale (King) Casimir of Poland concerning Alexis' ignoring his pastoral duties among Russians and Orthodox in areas occupied by Poland.⁶⁰ Casimir threatened that unless a metropolitan was appointed for his territory to see to the needs of his Orthodox population, he would seek to have them baptized in the Latin faith. With language

⁵⁹On George Perdikes and the unidentified Metropolitan of Keltzene, see Jean Darrouzès, *Le registre synodal du patriarchat byzantin du XIV siècle*. "Archives de l'orient chrétien," 12 (Paris, 1971), p. 191. Perdikes had been sent on previous embassies to Russia to make canonical inquiries, *ibid*, p. 240. The Metropolitan of Keltzene remains unnamed and may have been Dionysios referred to in 1364 as being transferred from Keltzene to Myra; *ibid*, 364.

⁶⁰M.M. I, 577-78. Also Meyendorff, *Russia*, Appendix 4. Charges are repeated by Philotheos in his letter of explanation to Alexis; see M.M. I, 583.

showing the greatest deference, he urged Philotheos to appoint a separate metropolitan for Polish occupied Galicia since the area was being destroyed by chaos.⁶¹ He certainly had no concern for preserving Orthodoxy in Polish territory. Since a Western crusade would have welcomed numerous Orthodox "converts" to the papal fold,⁶² only one explanation seemed possible; he sought to separate his people from the influence of Moscow by means of an independent metropolitan. As a result, Philotheos violated traditional Byzantine policy and in May, 1371, appointed a separate metropolitan, Anthony, with a clearly defined metropolitan district.⁶³

Philotheos regreted that Alexis abandoned his duties to the Orthodox in Galicia. The same annoyed tone which had characterized Text 2 of 1361 was repeated in his Pittakion (letter) of 1371 to Alexis. In it he recorded the appointment of Metropolitan Anthony to Galicia as metropolitan and pointed out that "we might have been able to hold out if the Lord of the territory [place] was an Orthodox and of our faith; even though it would not have been good, we would do this for you."⁶⁴ Alexis then, according to Philotheos, was the cause of this appointment! It was Alexis' abandonment of his duty, and not a change in policy, which forced Philotheos to appoint a second metropolitan for traditional Russian territory beyond Moscow. A similar demand by Olgerd of Lithuania was resisted temporarily, and Philotheos urged Alexis to pay more attention to his Orthodox Lithuanian constituency.⁶⁵ This resistance was not long-lived, and in 1375 he paralleled the events of 1354 by appointing a Lithuanian candidate, Kyprian, as Metropolitan of Kiev while Alexis was yet alive.⁶⁶ The policy of a unified metropolitanate foundered on the rocks of political necessity and pastoral neglect. Philotheos was clear: he would not give in to centrifugal ecclesiastical

⁶¹M.M. 1, 577.

⁶²Meyendorff, *Russia*, pp. 64-67; Casimir of Poland succeeded in absorbing Little Russia and in 1370 wrote to Philotheos requesting Anthony's appointment as Metropolitan of Galicia and claimed that such an office existed "from the beginning" ἐξ αἰῶνος αἰώνων (M.M. 1, 577-8). "Rebaptism" by Hungarian and Polish rulers was not uncommon in the fourteenth century. See, for instance, the case of the rebaptism of Prince Stracimir (1365-66) of Bulgaria and several thousand of his people in the city of Bidin by Louis of Hungary and he attempted rebaptism of Emperor John V by King Louis and his mother Elizabeth (sister of Casimir) in 1366 at Buda. Rebaptism was no idle threat as Philotheos well knew. See J. Meyendorff, "Projets de Concile oecuménique en 1367," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 14 (1960) 153-55.

⁶³M.M. 1, 578-80.

⁶⁴M.M. 1, 583-84: "Ἄλλως τε καὶ εἰ ἦν ὁ αὐθέντης τοῦ τόπου ὁρθόδοξος καὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας πίστεως, ἴσως ἐμέλλομεν προσκαρτερίσειν τοῦτο καὶ παραπετάσειν καίτοι γε οὐδὲ ἦν ἂν καλόν, διὰ σὲ δὲ ἴσως ἐποιοῦμεν τοῦτο."

⁶⁵M.M. 1, 321.

⁶⁶M.M. 2, 14, 1, 13. In the same year he was forced to recognize the Serbian patriarchate established at Pec by Stefan Dushan.

forces unless, as in the case of Casimir's threat, he was forced to. A metropolitan in Polish Galicia was a tactical necessity to protect the faith of the Orthodox population. Alexis of Moscow died on February 12, 1378, and was replaced by Kyprian who immediately faced the same problem and was criticized for pastoral neglect. If it were not for Philotheos' realpolitik, the insistent identification of the Kievan metropolitanate with the power of Moscow might have lost large areas of Orthodox Christianity for the Byzantine Church.

The role of the patriarchs of Constantinople in the affairs of the Church of Russia during the mid-fourteenth century is a testimony not only to the power of the myth of a universal empire, but to the strength and clear vision of the hesychast movement and the spiritual, social, and ecclesiastical renewal to which it gave birth. This renewal manifested itself in a sense of ecclesiastical universalism. It was hesychasm which laid the foundation for the independence of the Byzantine Church from the imperial government. This is true in spite of the often quoted letter to Patriarch Anthony (1389-90; 1391-97); in which he wrote as late as 1393 to Basil I of Moscow that the Church cannot exist without an emperor.⁶⁷

For certain, hesychasts such as Palamas could conceive of a Church without an empire as a missionary challenge. These patriarchs were not simple-minded dolts, consciously or unconsciously serving Byzantine political interests; if anything, they were serving their own increased sense of power, importance, and authority.

Ultimately the Byzantine policy won out politically in its support of Moscow, and failed ecclesiastically in its effort to maintain a unified ecclesiastical hierarchy under one metropolitan. This greatly weakened the pastoral ministry of the Orthodox Church in Russia. To counter this—and here is the paradox—Philotheos was forced to abandon his own policy of a unified metropolitanate in Russia. The goal of a single metropolitanate encompassing the expanse of Russia was clearly a bankrupt ecclesiastical policy by the second part of the fourteenth century.

TEXT 1

*Synodal Praxis Concerning Russia and the Metropolitan of Lithuania**

THE HOLY, CATHOLIC and Apostolic Church of God, through the grace of Christ, which was given to her from above from the beginning and through the invincible force and power [of Christ], is customarily trying to arrange everything for the best. This [the Church] indicates her concern and care for all the most holy churches found in each particular

⁶⁷M.M. 2, 192.

*M.M. 1, 425-430 (#183, 1361).

place, so that these may be administered and function well according to the law of the Lord.

Some time ago, the most holy Metropolitan of Kiev and All Russia; a dear brother and concelebrant of our humbleness in the Holy Spirit, the Lord Alexios, Bishop of Vladimir at that time after the death of the most holy Metropolitan of Russia, Lord Theognostos, came here to our divine and holy synod. He was introduced by the aforementioned most holy Metropolitian and by the most noble princes (ρηγῶν) of Russia, to the effect that he sought virtue and piety. Having been judged worthy, he was transferred and established according to the order and custom prevailing from above (ἄνωθεν) as the actual (γνήσιος, genuine) Chief Priest of Kiev and All Russia. [This was done] so that he would take good care of and shepherd well his most Holy Church according to the exactness of the divine and holy canons. It is, indeed, a populous (πολύάνθρωπον) church, having many neighbors that do not follow the Catholic and Apostolic Church.

Having thus been raised and established in this manner as the actual Metropolitan of Kiev and All Russia, and having been sent out well, there arrived also, after a short time, the most holy Metropolitan of Lithuania (μητροπολίτης Λιτβῶν), the Lord Romanos, a dear brother and concelebrant of our humility in the Lord, and he, too, was ordained, as Metropolitan of Lithuania. After he returned to the eparchy (ἐπαρχίαν, province) given to him, he lay in more claims and for this reason he disturbed (δύλον) the most holy Metropolitan of Kiev and All Russia, the Lord Alexios, and the rights which belonged to him. After scandals intervened between them, he (i.e. Romanos) came here to my God-empowered and most holy Emperor and to our humbleness and the divine and holy synod which surrounds us, asking for what he wanted and trying to hold back whatever occurred and the scandal between them.

After the most holy Metropolitan of Kiev and All Russia, Lord Alexios, was summoned. He arrived in God-glorified and God-increased Constantinople to join all the most holy bishops (ἀρχιερέων) that happened to be here, and a holy synod (σύνοδος ἐνδημοῦσα) was formed with my most powerful and holy Emperor presiding. Much examination took place on account of the reasons brought about by both these high priests. In the first place, the most holy Metropolitan, the Lord Alexios, was ordered to be and remain as he was, ordained in the beginning as (Metropolitan) of Kiev and All Russia according to the prevailing divine (ἄνωθεν) custom. However, concerning the most holy Metropolitan, the Lord Romanos, being ordained Metropolitan of Lithuania, my most powerful and holy Emperor determined, for the sake of condescension as well as for the quietness and peace of that thither place, that he should have in addition to the two dioceses which are in the eparchy (province)

of Lithuania, that of Polotsk and Tourov—and with Novgorodok, the seat of the Metropolitan, also the dioceses of Little Russia.

This [decision of the Emperor] was approved and declared clearly not only by our humility, but also by the divine and holy synod which surrounds us. Having the love and steadfastness in accordance with decision and order on this matter of my most powerful and holy Emperor [the synod] itself also made a provision concerning the same most holy Metropolitan of Lithuania, the Lord Romanos, advancing another synodal act. [It was decided] that the most holy Metropolitan of Kiev and All Russia, the Lord Alexios, should take hold and keep the entire district (ἐνορία) under him, along with the dioceses in it, without any disturbance or harassment. The most holy Metropolitan of Lithuania, the Lord Romanos, shall not devise any domination or interference on the possession, management, and administration of the said district of the Metropolitanate of Kiev with all his dioceses. The most holy Metropolitan of Lithuania, the Lord Romanos, must be content with whatever was given to him by synodal decision before our humbleness. Secondly, as has been made clear that such an act having been confirmed, those who overturn it must [suffer] the impending condemnation of the divine and holy canons. Whosoever of the two does not remain content, being satisfied with his own jurisdiction and having peace within himself as the Lord's Law and Command wills, and as it is especially bound for those who are chosen for spiritual protection; whoever goes forward after this synodal decision, and acts in defiance of this and dares, except in his district, to perform anything archierarchical, priestly, or ecclesiastical for the overturning of the ecclesiastical state to bring in again scandals and disturbances, will suffer the worthy canonical punishment and penalty by our humbleness and the divine and holy synod which surrounds us. [He would be considered] as a violator and as one having hostile thoughts toward the Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church of Christ, desiring to cause confusion, disturbance, and corruption in the Christian Russian people.

But these decisions, having been made and established in the said manner, the most holy Metropolitan of Kiev and All Russia, the Lord Alexios, was found obedient in all that was decided synodically, while the most holy Metropolitan, the Lord Romanos, going away from here, was neither willing to take letters from our humility [containing] the affirmation and guarantee (ἀσφάλειαν) of things decided, nor did he show the required subordination toward our humility. He had fled and gone to that which he was appointed, and upon arriving there practiced many uncanonical acts, as was brought to [the attention of] our humility; because having gone to Kiev he celebrated there without having a place, and he performed ordinations and named himself the universal (καθολικόν) Metropolitan of Kiev and All Russia without any fear. This brought

about confusion and disturbance in the eparchy [province] of the most holy Metropolitan of Kiev and All Russia. [Moreover,] he urged the Lord (αὐθέντην) of Lithuania to rise against the Christian people and to carry out much destruction and bloodshed. These were attested to more precisely by representatives (ἀποκρισιάρχοι) of the most holy Metropolitan of Kiev and All Russia, the Lord Alexios, who arrived here and by many others. But also it was attested especially from letters, which the men of the most holy Metropolitan of Lithuania, the Lord Romanos, brought when they arrived here earlier, in which they were boasting and declaring that the most holy Metropolitan, the Lord Romanos, is powerful and able to hold on to the entire eparchy (province) of the Metropolitanate of Russia. Furthermore, they were bragging that he went to Kiev and celebrated the Divine Liturgy and took many dioceses and incited the Lord of Lithuania against the Lord Alexios, and that he can do everything without fear, having no little power in this by instigating the Lord of Lithuania.

Because of this situation being dangerous to all and against the order of the divine and holy canons, and in order not to go on with killings, confusion, battles, and disturbances against the Christian people of Russia, which are, as it is said, characteristics of the pagans (τοῖς ἔθνεσιν = nations or gentiles) as they have no fear of God nor (i.e., a characteristic) of high-priests [bishops], our humbleness at first exhorted the Lord Romanos, in writing recommending to him to turn away from such non-canonical actions, and to abide without transgression by what was decided synodically. He is to cease doing these further and to cease standing against Lord Alexios and not to appropriate the greater diocese of Russia, that of Briansk (Μπριανίσκου), belonging to the most holy Metropolitan of Kiev and All Russia, the Lord Alexios, which it is clear is looked upon with suspicion; and still greater calamity will come forth and a total corruption (φθορά) and innovation (καινοτομία) of the ecclesiastical matters, in the whole eparchy (province) of Russia.

Our humility [wrote] of having care and concern for the peace and concord of the whole membership of the Church which, by the grace of Christ, should be one body and bound together with the unbreakable bond of love, having Christ as its head and cornerstone. Also at the same time, attempting to stop the intervened scandals between the two high-priests (ἀρχιερέων) this was examined together with the most holy and honorable high priests (ἀρχιερεῖσι) which surround us, dear brothers and concelebrants of our humility in the Lord — [that is, the bishops of] Kyzikos, Chalkedon, Pontoherakleia, Vizye, who is also the locum tenens of Stavropolis, Vreses, Keltzene, Christianoupolis, Sougdaia, Roston, Makre, Ganos, and the most honorable bishop-elect (ὑποψηφίῳ) to the most holy Metropolitanate of Thessalonike.

This [decision] has been approved by my most powerful, by (the grace of God), and holy Emperor, welcoming the good of peace and concord in his innate (ἐμφύτω) love for [these] good things. Seeking eagerly to support all the Church's rights and privileges, he selected the most honorable sakellios (ὁ σακελλίου) of our most holy and great Church of God and concelebrant and the most honorable sakellios (ὁ σακελλίου) and record keeper (δικαιοφύλαξ) of our most holy and great Church of God, and a most true son of our humbleness in the Holy Spirit, the Lord George Perdikes, the deacon. These [the Emperor] sent as representatives (ἀποκρισιάριοι) so as to make such an examination, being pious, useful, and instrumental men, and possessing not a small knowledge of the divine and holy canons, in addition to having wisdom and being trustworthy in character.

They were to go to Russia and summon the most God-loving bishops there, who were not hindered by great road distances (τὸ πολὺ τῆς ὁδοῦ μῆκος), and also the most noble great princes, (ῥήγας) to come together [to a meeting]. The most holy Metropolitan, the Lord Romanos, must also come to this assembly or send his own men in his stead. An examination, having been conducted without prejudice by this representation [sic], while God looks from above, being present the party of the Lord Romanos before the most God-loving bishops and most noble princes, who are about to come together because of this matter, a definite written testimony and documentation may be made of all things said and examined on account of these charges. This (testimony) will also be confirmed by the signatures of the most God-loving bishops and most noble princes and other trustworthy [men]. This (testimony), having been brought to my most powerful and holy Emperor, to our humility and to the divine and holy synod which surrounds us by these representatives (ἀποκρισιάριοι) and having returned without danger by the help of God, that which was the belief of the divine and holy synod, according to the ordinance of the divine and holy canons; henceforth, the trouble that has come over the Christian people of Russia may be taken away.

If however, the most holy Metropolitan, the Lord Romanos, did not desire to [be present] himself, or send his own men in his stead to the examination which had taken place, the notification having been made to him canonically by these representatives, (ἀποκρισιάριοι) as they have been commissioned, must hold this examination unhindered before the most God-loving bishops and most noble princes, according to their experience and knowledge of the divine and holy canons. And thus, so as in this manner, every excuse and cause for such wicked and uncanonical scandals may be removed. The present synodal act is released for the security (certainty) of this, which was recorded in the holy codical, in the month of July of the year 6869 (1361).

† *Signed by the sacred patriarchal hand, in the month of July, fourteenth indiction*

TEXT 2

*Correspondence to the Metropolitan of Lithuania**

MOST HOLY METROPOLITAN of Lithuania, honorable and dear brother in the Lord and concelebrant of our humility, may the grace and peace of God be with your holiness.

You know what took place between your holiness and the most holy Metropolitan of Kiev and All Russia, the Lord Alexios, our dear brother in the Lord and concelebrant, and how it was settled with a royal and synodal decision of our humbleness. Your holiness was to have along with the two dioceses of the eparchy (province) of Lithuania—that of Polotsk and Tourov—and with Novgorodok also the dioceses of Little Russia, while the most holy Metropolitan, the Lord Alexios, was to have Kiev and all the dioceses of Russia, as it was when he was ordained in the beginning. And he (on the one hand), as he stated in writing, and as it appears from the affair, accepts and abides without transgression by the things decided, as said. Your holiness, however, as it was reported to our humbleness many times, disregarding the written synodal act which took place at that time and which was sanctioned by the royal decision (ψήφον = vote), as stated above, you slipped furtively into Kiev and celebrated and did some other things that belong to the actual (genuine) high priest (bishop). And not only there, but also in Briansk (Μπριάνισκον) which is a diocese of the same Lord Alexios. To put it simply, you disturb him always, setting upon all of his ecclesiastical rights, doing a thing outside of the exactness of the divine and holy canons, which you were assigned to keep unchanged and unassailed. For this reason, our humility wrote one and twice to your holiness already some time ago, that if, indeed, these are being dared by you, that you are to withdraw from doing such things any more, which cause both harm to your soul and decreases your honor.

Again at the present time, as our humility has learned from those coming from there, you not only do the said uncanonical [things], to your own harm, but you also caused the Lord (αὐθέντην) of Lithuania to rise up against the so-called castle of Alexios and to destroy the Christians there. You did a most evil thing, if indeed it happened thus, as it was reported.

Now, our humility and the divine and holy synod which surrounds us on the one hand is concerned about the guarding and preservation of the divine and holy canons and is striving to do justice to these by all means, and, on the other, it equally wants to learn more clearly about the matter and to administer peace and to act canonically between you and the Christian people of All Russia. This was [also] pleasing to my most powerful, by [the grace of] God, and holy Emperor, in his God-given

*M.M. I, 434-436 (#185, 1361).

zeal for the ecclesiastical affairs and administration. [For the above reasons our humility] having chosen representatives (ἀποκρισιάριοι), it sent forth the most holy Metropolitan of Keltzene, most honorable dear brother in the Lord of our humbleness and concelebrant, and the most honorable sakellios and record keeper of our most holy great Church of God, a dear son of our humbleness in the Holy Spirit, the Lord George Perdikes, the deacon, so as to make an examination of all [things] spoken to summon the most God-loving bishops and most noble princes in order to be present in such an examination for the sake of stability (ἀσφάλεια).

Therefore your holiness must also be present without fail, since for the sake of this were these representatives (ἀποκρισιάριοι) commissioned to inform you clearly. For this reason our humility suggests to your holiness, so that putting aside each and every excuse you be present yourself at the assembly, which is to take place by these representatives (ἀποκρισιάριοι); and there the examination of the said things may take place synodically without prejudice, while God looks over from above; this is also the canonical (ἐγκάκονον) thing for you to do. If, indeed, it happens that it is not easy for you to present yourself due to an obstacle of bodily illness, we exhort you, without a found excuse [you might conjure up] to send your own people in your stead so that the entire examination of the things said will take place before them as it also would have occurred before your holiness. Know, therefore, your holiness that it was thus determined and decided synodically, and in this way these representatives (ἀποκρισιάριοι) were commissioned, that if, indeed, you do neither of the two—neither go yourself nor send your own men—these representatives (ἀποκρισιάριοι) then will make an examination before the most God-loving bishops and the most noble princes who are about to assemble.

Whatsoever they discover, they will put in writing, confirmed by the signatures in their own hand by the most God-loving bishops and the most noble princes; they will convey this to my most powerful, by [the grace of] God, and holy Emperor and to our humility and the divine and holy synod which surrounds us. So that from hence a perfect decision may be brought forth and every reason, which causes... the scandals, may be eliminated. For the gates of hades shall not overcome the Church of God, according to the salutary saying (τόν σωτήριον λόγον). Your holiness must also have the proper love and obedience toward her [i.e. the Church] and not rise up against her, or threaten, resist, and oppose things resolved by her; this is far from the dignity of a bishop and the Christian polity.

Know, therefore, your holiness that if, indeed, you do not do according to the proclaimed synodal decision and judgement, which these representatives (ἀποκρισιάριοι) are bringing over, a complete sentence of

condemnation will be brought against you. Therefore, in order for this not to happen, do as our humility urges you synodically. May the grace of God be with your holiness.

† *It had the patriarchal signature, the month of July, the fourteenth indiction*

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The Charismatic Movement: An Orthodox Evaluation

JOHN WARREN MORRIS

FOR ALMOST TWENTY YEARS a new phenomenon, the Charismatic movement, has grown among American Christians. Receiving its title from the Greek word for 'gifts,' this new force among Christians emphasizes what its followers believe are "the gifts of the Holy Spirit," especially the gift of tongues. With its roots in the revivals of the American frontier and the old Pentecostal denominations, such as the Assembly of God, Neo-Pentecostalism has successfully penetrated almost every Christian body in the United States. Today there are Episcopalian, Lutheran, Baptist, Presbyterian, Methodist, Roman Catholic, and even Eastern Orthodox charismatics. Although they continue to profess loyalty to their respective churches, all Neo-Pentecostals proclaim a common belief in the necessity of a personal experience of the outpouring of the Third Person of the Holy Trinity—'baptism of the Holy Spirit.' They also claim to have received special gifts, or 'charismata,' from the Spirit of God. Gathering in large assemblies and smaller prayer meetings, the charismatics practice speaking in tongues, and other phenomena which they attribute to the power of the Holy Spirit.

Naturally, the new movement has led to a great deal of controversy. Supporters proclaim it as a new outpouring of the Holy Spirit and the source of genuine spiritual renewal for an otherwise deficient church. Critics, however, challenge the basic theological presuppositions of Neo-Pentecostalism. Some charge that the preoccupation with personal religious experience can easily lead to a narcissistic religion that ignores other fundamental requirements of the Christian faith such as repentance and great moral and ethical issues. Many claim that the movement produces a spiritual pride that leads to serious divisions within local congregations by establishing a self-proclaimed spiritual elite that looks down on others who have not shared their personal emotional experiences. At the same time an excessive reliance on individual emotional experiences can easily lead a person to neglect the importance of spiritual guidance from the Church and conformity to the doctrines and practices that have withstood the test of time and have become normative among

more traditional Christians.

The growth of the Charismatic movement within Orthodoxy has led to similar concerns. Orthodox Neo-Pentecostals, led by the Very Rev. Archimandrite Eusebius Stephanou, actively seek to spread their version of spiritual renewal among the faithful. However, an increasingly large number of Orthodox hierarchs, theologians and local clergy openly oppose the new movement as a serious threat to the growth of more traditional Orthodox spirituality. Although it is very unrealistic to treat the Charismatic movement as a monolithic phenomenon, or to maintain that all those influenced by Neo-Pentecostalism within the Orthodox Church share an identical set of beliefs and practices, there are certain characteristics that identify the basic approach of the movement.

In its mild form, involvement in Neo-Pentecostalism may represent nothing more than an effort of a few faithful to grow into a deeper relationship with Christ. Indeed, a superficial involvement with the Charismatic movement can lead a person into greater faith, provided that the individual is able to grow beyond Neo-Pentecostalism and to cast aside those aspects of the movement that conflict with traditional Orthodox spirituality. However, if the Charismatic movement becomes the center of one's spiritual life and a person refuses to grow beyond its narrow confines, Neo-Pentecostalism represents a serious threat to true spiritual development by substituting emotional experiences, spiritual self-reliance and a basically Protestant approach for true Orthodox spirituality. Reliance on the Charismatic movement for the ultimate source of spiritual enlightenment can easily lead a person to reject the teaching authority of the Church and an abandonment of the faith of the Fathers, and the common experience of the Church throughout history. The emphasis on individual and extraordinary mystical experiences can lead a sincere believer into spiritual delusion or prelest. Significantly, the Fathers and spiritual masters of the Christian East unanimously warn of the danger of seeking special blessings or experiences, lest a person fall into prelest. Since the very core of the Charismatic movement is a quest for what Neo-Pentecostals consider the gifts of the Holy Spirit, this movement can be very dangerous, especially when the Protestant roots and orientation of the movement are taken into consideration. A serious study of the Charismatic movement can only lead to the conclusion that Orthodox Christians seeking a deeper relationship with Christ should turn to the spiritual traditions of their own Church rather than to Protestant inspired Neo-Pentecostalism.

A. Historical Background

A STUDY OF Church history shows that most of the beliefs and practices of the Charismatic movement are more characteristic of groups far

removed from the mainstream of church history, especially from Eastern Orthodoxy. Until recently an emphasis on speaking in tongues, the chief feature of the Charismatic movement, could not be found within any major Christian group, particularly the Orthodox Church. From the close of the Apostolic Age until the twentieth century, *glossolalia* (speaking in tongues) took place only in a few instances, and then only in isolation from the rest of the Christian community.¹ Such great fathers as Saint John Chrysostom and Nicholas Kabasilas teach that the New Testament phenomenon of glossolalia had ceased to exist within the Church following its infancy. Others, including Augustine of Hippo and Pope Leo the Great, argue that the gift of tongues or languages has been transferred to the whole Church which teaches the Gospel in many places in many different tongues.² Therefore the charismatic emphasis on tongues as a requirement of the spiritual life is without a basis in the common experience of the Church as found in the testimony of the Fathers and spiritual writers.

Indeed, for almost 2,000 years the only significant example of activity similar to that of Neo-Pentecostalism is found largely, if not exclusively, within heretical movements. The Gnostics, an early threat to Orthodoxy, practiced glossolalia. Again, in Montanism speaking in tongues and other beliefs and practices similar to the Charismatic movement surfaced to challenge those of the Church. Centered in Phrygia in Asia Minor during the second century, this heresy emphasized strict morality, the immediate return of Christ, and the exercise of glossolalia as a form of prophecy. Montanos and his two female followers, Prisca and Maximilla, fell into a trance-like state of ecstasy and uttered unintelligible babble. Interpreting their bizarre behavior as seizure by the Holy Spirit, these 'new prophets' claimed to speak for God himself. Like contemporary Neo-Pentecostals, they taught that the free exercise of what they considered to be the gifts of the Holy Spirit must be an essential part of the Christian experience. They also charged that the apparent absence of such manifestations as glossolalia resulted from the moral laxity of the official Church.³

¹Anthony A. Hoekema, *Tongues and Spirit Baptism* (Grand Rapids, 1981), pp. 10, 112-13; Mack B. Stokes, *The Holy Spirit and Christian Experience* (Nashville, 1975), pp. 139-40; Eling Jorstad, *The Holy Spirit in Today's Church* (Nashville, 1973), p.11

²George H. Williams and Edith Waldvogel, "A History of Speaking in Tongues and Related Gifts," in Michael P. Hamiliton, ed. *The Charismatic Movement* (Grand Rapids, 1975) pp. 67-68; Saint John Chrysostom, *Homilies on the Epistles of St. Paul to the Corinthians*, trans. by Talbot W. Chambers, in Philip Schaff, et. al. eds. *A Select Library of Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church* (Grand Rapids, 1979), First Series, vol. 12, p. 219; Nicholas Cabasilas, *The Life in Christ*, trans. by Carmino J. De Catanzaro (Crestwood, 1974), pp. 106-07.

³Williston Walker, *A History of the Christian Church* (New York, 1970), p.56; Jaroslav

While some Montanists later drifted completely away from the Church by denying the catholic doctrine of the Holy Trinity, at least one historian claims that the initial opposition of the Church to Montanism was due to its forms of spirituality. Hans von Campenhausen states that the original Montanists were orthodox in every way with the exception of of their rather strange practices. Therefore, the Church condemned the Phrygians for their emphasis on glossolalia and other forms of emotionalism, which it considered dangerous due to the lack of self-control and sobriety of its practitioners. Significantly, the writings of several Fathers lend a degree of credence to Campenhausen's thesis. For example, Hippolytos of Rome condemned Montanism for its claim to reveal a new prophecy. Instead this theologian argued that all truly inspired prophecy had ceased with the death of Saint John, following the composition of the Apocalypse. The works of such Fathers as Saints Ignatios of Antioch, Clement of Rome and Irenaios of Lyons also bear witness to the essential truth of Campenhausen's position. Expressing what became the official position of the Church, these writers confined the legitimate activity of the Holy Spirit to the organized Catholic Church. They taught that the Church with its ordained ministry of bishop, priest, and deacon is the true vehicle of the Spirit of God, not self-proclaimed prophets like Montanos.⁴

Following the demise of Montanism, almost nothing is heard of 'glossolalia,' and other practices so central to Neo-Pentecostalism for many years. As was the case with Montanism, such activity took place only within bodies outside of the Orthodox Church. During the Protestant Reformation, a few Swiss Anabaptists spoke in tongues, although both Martin Luther and John Calvin, the leaders of the Reformation, rejected the practice. With the exception of a few Moravian Brethren in Saxony, the next great manifestation of glossolalia took place in eighteenth-century France. There a few Huguenots and Jansenists, a Roman Catholic movement condemned as heretical by the hierarchy, exhibited religious frenzy accompanied by speaking in tongues. Finally, the

Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition* (Chicago, 1971), 1, pp. 97-101; Eusebios Pamphilos, *The Ecclesiastical History*, trans. Christian Frederick Cruse (Grand Rapids, 1977), pp. 195-99; Waldvogel, "Speaking in Tongues," p.64.

⁴Hans von Campenhausen, *Ecclesiastical Authority and Spiritual Power in The Church of the First Three Centuries*, trans. J.A. Baker (London, 1969), pp. 188-89; Pelikan, *Christian Tradition*, pp. 106-07; Saint Ignatios of Antioch, "Letter to the Ephesians," "Letter to the Trallians," and "Letter to the Smyrnaeans," in Cyril C. Richardson, et. al. ed. and trans. *Early Christian Fathers* (Philadelphia, 1953), pp. 89, 98-99, 115; Saint Clement of Rome, "The Letter of the Church of Rome to the Church of Corinth," *ibid*, pp. 43-73; St. Irenaios of Lyons, "The Refutation and Overthrow of the Knowledge Falsely So Called," in Richardson, *ibid*, pp. 370-77.

nineteenth century British founder of the Catholic Apostolic Church, Edward Irving, taught his followers to speak in tongues. With these few exceptions and a few manifestations of glossolalia among American Shaking Quakers, Mormons, and revivalists, glossolalia has played no significant role in Christian history until the birth of Pentecostalism in twentieth-century America.⁵ The few places where speaking in tongues could be found were far removed from Orthodox Christianity, a fact that can only cast doubt on the validity and value of the phenomenon.

The theological basis for Pentecostalism and its daughter, the Charismatic movement, is found not in the writings of the Fathers or the common experience of the Church, but in the teachings of John Wesley. Wesley, the British founder of the Methodist movement, taught his followers to believe in a 'second blessing.' Following acceptance of Christ and justification, Wesley believed that one could receive another religious experience that brought sanctification. Although most of Wesley's followers joined the Methodist Church, which now tends to deemphasize his doctrine of a 'second blessing,' many formed various Holiness groups such as the church of the Nazarene and the Pilgrim Holiness Church. At the same time the emotionalism and display of religious enthusiasm of the American frontier revivals inspired by Wesley and his followers laid a foundation for the emotionalism of the Pentecostal movement. During these meetings repentant sinners wept, shouted, shook and engaged in all sorts of extreme emotionalism as they responded to the fiery preaching of the evangelist.⁶

Pentecostalism began in earnest on New Year's Day, 1901, at Bethel Bible College in Topeka, Kansas. There, the students of Charles F. Parham, a Holiness preacher, had spent the fall term searching the Holy Scriptures for the marks of the 'second blessing' taught by Wesley. As a result many decided that speaking in 'an unknown tongue' was the only sure sign that a person has received the 'second blessing,' or 'baptism of the Holy Spirit.' During a New Year's Eve service, one student, Agnes Oxman, began to make strange sounds which Parham and his students decided was actually Chinese. Consequently, the group fell into great enthusiasm and others began to copy the utterances of Oxman and to 'speak in tongues.' From Topeka, the new movement of glossolalia spread to other cities in the Southwest, carried by the enthusiastic preaching of Parham and his followers. In Houston, a black Baptist Holiness preacher, William Seymour, joined the growing revival. Seymour carried the movement to Los Angeles in 1906 where at the Azusa Street Mission the phenomenon gained national publicity. Within a few years several independent Pentecostal churches such as the

⁵Waldvogel, "Speaking in Tongues, pp. 61-97.

⁶Ibid, pp. 90-96; Jorstad, *The Holy Spirit*, pp. 11-12.

Assembly of God, the United Pentecostal Church, and others arose. Characterized by highly emotional services, the Pentecostal bodies all teach that one must receive the 'second blessing,' which they call the 'baptism of the Holy Spirit,' and which is verified by the ability to speak in tongues.⁷

For almost sixty years, most mainline Christians looked upon Pentecostalism with contempt, calling them by such derogatory terms as 'Holy Rollers,' due to their emotional practices. However, in the early 1950s, Pentecostalism began to penetrate more traditional Protestant bodies. This was the result of the formation of the Full Gospel Businessmen's Fellowship (FGBMFI) by Demos Shakarian in 1951. A successful dairyman, Shakarian came from a family of Armenian Protestants who had arrived in southern California in 1905. Under the influence of Oral Roberts, a Pentecostal preacher who gained a national following during the 1950s, Shakarian decided to organize a lay association to support Pentecostal evangelism. Spreading throughout the United States and other countries, the FGBMFI sponsors prayer breakfasts, Bible studies, and weekend retreats that attract members from the mainline denominations.⁸

Despite the success of the FGBMFI and such popular Pentecostal preachers as Oral Roberts and Kathryn Kuhlman, the new movement failed to make a major impact on American Christianity until the early 1960s. In this decade of rapid change, many members of mainline Churches became disenchanted with the emphasis on social movements and liberal political issues that marked the preaching and other activities of their many clergy. Thus, they sought a more evangelical faith which many found through the Charismatic movement. Unlike the older Pentecostalism that inspired it and provided the theological basis for it, the new Pentecostalism is an interdenominational movement that allows its followers to retain membership in their own denominations while accepting its basic beliefs and practices. Although emphasizing the 'baptism of the Holy Spirit,' and glossolalia, the Charismatic movement is much less fundamentalistic and morally rigid than the older Pentecostalism. Charismatics also tend to express their emotionalism in less flamboyant ways than followers of the parent movement. Actually the Charismatic movement is a more genteel and middle-class oriented form of the same beliefs and practices that are found in the older Pentecostal churches.

The birth and growth of the Charismatic movement is due largely to

⁷Waldvogel, "Speaking in Tongues," pp. 91-99; Jorstad, *The Holy Spirit*, pp. 12-13; Richard Quebedaux, *The New Charismatics* (Garden City, 1976), pp. 38-40; Walter J. Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*, trans. R.A. Wilson (Minneapolis, 1977), pp. 22-26.

⁸Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*, pp. 22-26.

the work of the Rev. Dennis J. Bennett. In 1959, Bennett, then Rector of Saint Mark's Episcopal Church in Van Nuys, California, heard of a couple in a neighboring parish who had begun to speak in tongues, from a fellow priest, the Rev. Frank Maguire. The couple, John and Joan Baker, had fallen under the influence of Pentecostal friends and sought to persuade other Episcopalians to seek the 'baptism of the Holy Spirit.' Interested by their experiences, Bennett met with them and began to practice glossolalia in 1959. Soon a significant number of Episcopalians had joined the newly born Charismatic movement. However, Bennett's untraditional behavior in the then conservative Protestant Episcopal Church caused such a controversy that he resigned from his parish. From his new post at Saint Luke's Episcopal Church in Seattle, Bennett began an active campaign to bring others into the Neo-Pentecostal movement. Through his writings and speaking engagements, the Charismatic movement grew and spread to other denominations, becoming a major force in American Protestantism.⁹

From its birth in Protestantism, the Charismatic movement quickly spread to members of the Roman Catholic Church. Amidst the spirit of reform and innovation that followed the Second Vatican Council, many Catholics, feeling lost by the rapid change in their church, sought inspiration from sources hitherto considered forbidden by traditional Roman Catholicism. In 1966, several laymen at Duquesne University in Pittsburgh formed a study group. Two members of the society, Kevin and Dorothy Ranaghan, electrified their friends with the account of the very successful ministry to youth in the slums of New York City by David Wilkerson, a Pentecostal evangelist, as told in his book *The Cross and the Switchblade*. Meanwhile, another person in the group, Ralph Keifer, an instructor in theology at the Catholic university, learned of the Charismatic movement through John Sherrill's *They Speak with Other Tongues*. He became interested in the new phenomenon and gained an introduction to a charismatic prayer groups through the Rev. William Lewis, an Episcopalian priest. Consequently, Keifer and several other faculty members of Duquesne began to speak in tongues in 1967. The movement quickly spread to others in the university community. Following a retreat sponsored by the original study group, Roman Catholic Neo-Pentecostalism was born.¹⁰

From Duquesne, the movement spread to Notre Dame University where it grew into a national phenomenon. A few months following the outbreak of glossolalia at Duquesne, Keifer spent a weekend with Kevin Ranaghan, who had joined the faculty of this prestigious Catholic

⁹Dennis J. Bennett, *Nine O'Clock in the Morning* (Plainfield, New Jersey, 1970), pp. 1-90; Quebedaux, *Charismatics*, pp. 54-56; Jorstad, *The Holy Spirit*, p. 16.

¹⁰Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*, p. 9; Quebedaux, *Charismatics*, pp. 63-66.

university. Ranaghan also began to speak in tongues and introduced others to the experience. During the summer of 1967, many priests, nuns, and laymen who had come to Notre Dame for summer school attended a series of seminars sponsored by the charismatics. As a result, hundreds of persons began to speak in tongues and return to their home parishes to spread Neo-Pentecostalism. Thus, the Catholic Charismatic movement spread throughout the nation. Today there are thousands of Catholic Neo-Pentecostals. Charismatic literature can be found in almost every Catholic bookstore.¹¹

From Protestantism and Roman Catholicism, the Charismatic movement entered Eastern Orthodox circles. In the late 1960s a few Orthodox Christians in parishes of the Greek, Antiochian, and Russian Synod Abroad jurisdictions had embraced Neo-Pentecostalism. Holy Trinity Greek Orthodox Church in Pittsburgh, the cite of Duquesne University and the birthplace of the Catholic Charismatic movement, became one of the first centers of Neo-Pentecostalism in the Eastern Orthodox Church. There a few members fell under the sway of Neo-Pentecostalism through involvement in charismatic prayer meetings in non-Orthodox Churches. With the blessing of their priest, they organized one of the first Orthodox charismatic prayer groups. However, the movement failed to gain a significant following among Orthodox Christians until the early 1970s. In January 1972, the Very Rev. Archimandrite Eusebius Stephanou embraced Neo-Pentecostalism following a visit to Holy Spirit Orthodox Church in Huntington, West Virginia. Holy Spirit Church, a newly founded mission of the Antiochian Archdiocese, had fallen under the influence of the Charismatic movement through the preaching of its founder, The Rev. Fr. Athanasius Emmert. Following his visit to Huntington, during which he received the 'laying on of hands' from lay charismatics, Fr. Stephanou began to speak in tongues and joined the Charismatic movement. From the pages of *Logos*, a monthly magazine he founded in 1968, Fr. Stephanou encouraged others to seek the 'Baptism of the Holy Spirit,' and to practice glossolalia. As a writer and traveling preacher, Fr. Stephanou gained a national following for beliefs and practices that differ little in substance from those of Protestant and Catholic Neo-Pentecostals. Indeed, the leader of the Orthodox charismatics proclaimed that the Orthodox Church had grown spiritually dead and must learn from Protestant and Catholic charismatics how to renew the spiritual life within their Church. Together with other Orthodox charismatics such as The Rev. Fr. Boris Zabrodsky of Saint Nicholas Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Homewood, Illinois, Fr. Stephanou has sponsored several national "Pan Orthodox Charismatic Conferences." During these meetings, which attract hundreds from all over

¹¹Ibid.

the United States, participants listen to lectures from men like the Rev. Fr. Duane Stenzel, a Roman Catholic charismatic, and celebrate their new experiences of spirituality through Neo-Pentecostalism.¹²

B. Doctrinal Considerations

THEREFORE, THE CHARISMATIC movement began and developed its basic beliefs and practices outside of the Orthodox Church. This important historical fact raises serious questions for any Orthodox Christian considering the validity of Neo-Pentecostalism. Indeed, it requires a serious study of Orthodox doctrine concerning the nature of the Church, the operation of the Holy Spirit, and legitimate sources of spirituality. One must question whether or not sincere Orthodox Christians can embrace a movement so obviously Protestant in style and origins without danger of compromising essential Orthodox dogma, and abandoning the traditional spirituality of Orthodoxy. Ultimately one is led to ask why this movement, if it is actually the operation of the Holy Spirit, should grow outside of the Church and should emphasize practices found rarely, if at all, in the traditional piety of the Christian East.

Ecclesiology

ACCORDING TO ORTHODOX dogma, the Church is not merely a loose association of men and women seeking a closer relationship with God. It is the mystical body of Christ, filled and guided by the Holy Spirit, that actually unites men with God. For centuries, the Orthodox Church has believed that the Holy Spirit guides and constantly renews the Church, providing the only sure means whereby one receives the sanctification of the Holy Spirit. Orthodox theologians have called the Church the Kingdom of God on earth that teaches all that is needed for a complete spiritual life. As the vehicle of the Holy Spirit, the Church leads all to unchangeable truth and is preserved from doctrinal error by the Spirit of God. Therefore, according to Orthodox doctrine, the totality of the true Christian experience has always been found only within the Church.¹³

¹²Theodore C. Heckman, "Orthodoxy and the Pentecostal Movement," *The Word*, April, 1972, pp. 4-5, 26-27; Eusebius A. Stephanou, "The Mighty Outpouring of the Holy Spirit in Our Day," and "How the Quickening Spirit is Stirring in the Orthodox Church," *Logos*, January, 1972, pp. 3-5, 21-22, 12-14; The Editors of the Orthodox Word, *Orthodoxy and The Religion of the Future* (Platina, California, 1975), p. 40; Eusebius A. Stephanou, "Is There More After Chrismation?" *Logos*, May-June, 1981, pp. 8-11; *Logos*, May-June, 1976, pp. 8-9.

¹³Vladimir Lossky, *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church* (Crestwood, 1976), pp. 174-186; Thomas Hopko, *The Spirit of God* (Wilcon, Conn., 1976), pp. 25-29; John Karmires, *A Synopsis of the Dogmatic Theology of the Orthodox Catholic Church*, trans. George Dimopoulos (Scranton, 1973), pp. 83-89.

The Orthodox conception of the Church is grounded firmly on the combined witness of Holy Scripture and the Fathers. Saint Paul wrote:

Christ loved the Church and gave himself up for her that he might sanctify her...that he might present the Church to himself in splendor without spot or wrinkle or any such thing, that she might be holy and without blemish.¹⁴

Such Fathers as Saint Cyril of Jerusalem taught that the Holy Spirit leads the Church to all truth and all sanctity. Saint Irenaios of Lyon stated that the Church alone possesses all truth and "every grace." Saint Basil, the great theologian of the Holy Spirit, proclaimed that the "ordering of the Church is effected through the Spirit." Saint Cyprian wrote that no faithful Christian can abandon the fellowship of the Church without becoming "an alien, an outcast, an enemy." Indeed, this great North African bishop denied the validity of all sacramental graces outside of the one Church.¹⁵

According to Saint Irenaios, one must look to the Church possessing uninterrupted succession of bishops from the Apostles to find the Church of Christ. This witness of apostolic succession has provided a means to the true teaching of Christ and his Apostles and a means to judge the validity of any belief or practice. Saint Basil wrote that the Apostles left an unwritten tradition to their successors that provides a legitimate guide for true spirituality.¹⁶ This tradition, which Vladimir Lossky defines as "the life of the Church in the Holy Spirit," provides the Orthodox Christian with a sure and reliable source for all valid beliefs and practices. Indeed, the Orthodox Church recognizes the witness of the life and experience of the Church throughout the centuries as the only sure guide for the interpretation of Holy Scripture.¹⁷

However, by its very nature, the Charismatic movement denies the Orthodox doctrine of the Church. By implication and practice Neo-Pentecostalism espouses an essentially Protestant ecclesiology that defines the church as a formless body of believers united by a common desire to follow Christ. At the same time, the movement ignores or rejects the great tradition of Orthodoxy and instead champions the beliefs

¹⁴Ephesians 5.25-27.

¹⁵Saint Cyril of Jerusalem, "The Catechetical Lectures," trans. Edwin H. Gifford, in Schaff, *Nicene Fathers*, Second Series, vol.7, pp. 118-19; St. Irenaios of Lyons, "Knowledge Falsely So Called," pp. 370-377; St. Basil, "On The Holy Spirit," trans. Blomfield Jackson, in Schaff, *Nicene Fathers*, Second Series, vol. 8, p. 25; St. Cyprian, "The Unity of the Catholic Church," and "Letter 69," in S.L. Greenslade, ed. *Early Latin Theology* (Philadelphia, 1956), pp. 126, 150-57.

¹⁶Saint Irenaios of Lyons, "Knowledge Falsely So Called," pp. 370-77; Saint Basil, "On the Holy Spirit," pp. 40-43.

¹⁷Lossky, *Mystical Theology*, p. 188; Georges Florovsky, *Bible Church Tradition: An Eastern Orthodox View* (Belmont, Mass., 1972), pp. 25-26

and practices of a small sidestream of American Protestantism. Thus, the ultimate source of authority for Neo-Pentecostalism is not the common experience of the Church throughout the ages, as Orthodox Christians believe, but one's emotional experiences through the Charismatic movement. Indeed, the movement ignores the great questions of doctrine and attempts to unite Protestants, Roman Catholics, and Orthodox Christians into what is essentially a new pseudo-church. As Fr. Stephanou writes:

Those who are charismatically renewed in each denomination or church experiences a mysterious unity among one another. An intuitive affinity draws them together in common prayer and worship. He is baptizing people in all churches with his Holy Spirit and drawing them together into one body through the one, common experience.¹⁸

Thus, some Neo-Pentecostals believe in the necessity of sacraments as means to receive the grace of God, while others reject them outright or consider the Mysteries merely symbolic. Presumably Roman Catholic charismatics have remained loyal to the papacy, while proclaiming spiritual unity with Protestants and Orthodox who reject his essential dogma of the Roman Catholic Church. At the same time Orthodox Neo-Pentecostals profess devotion to the faith of the Fathers and the Ecumenical Synods, while seeking spiritual edification among those who have little or no concept of Patristic Christianity. Thus, in essence the Charismatic Movement teaches that certain emotional experiences, such as speaking in tongues, are more important than correct or Orthodox belief about God and the Holy Spirit.

Such doctrinal relativism is far removed from the tradition of the Orthodox Church which has steadfastly demanded conformity to the faith and teachings of the Church as expressed by the Fathers and the decisions of the Ecumenical Synods. Indeed as Professor Serge S. Verhovskoy has written, the Orthodox Christian asks:

How can we be in communion with God, in whom and from whom is all our perfection, if we do not know him, or if our knowledge of him is wrong? How can we live in Christ if we do not know him, or if we deform his image and teaching? How can we serve the Church if we do not know what the Church really is, or if we replace the true vision of the Church by our human imagination?¹⁹

However, as Protestants and Roman Catholics, most charismatics

¹⁸Eusebius A. Stephanou, *100 Questions and Answers on the Charismatic Renewal in the Orthodox Church* (Fort Wayne, Indiana, 1976), p. 48

¹⁹Serge S. Verhovskoy, *The Light of the World* (Crestwood, 1982), p. 12.

deny essential beliefs about God, Christ, the Church and the action of the Holy Spirit that Orthodox Christians believe stem from the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. Instead, they call those who desire to receive the fullness of the life in the Holy Spirit to seek spiritual guidance from a movement that began and developed outside of the Orthodox Church and which shows little if any respect for the tradition, beliefs, and practices of the Orthodox Church.

Thus, the Orthodox charismatic is forced to ignore or to deemphasize the beliefs and practices of Orthodoxy by accepting the claims of Neo-Pentecostalism to unite all Christians, regardless of their personal beliefs and practices, into a common experience of the Holy Spirit that is more valid than the common experience of the Orthodox Church throughout the centuries. However, according to Orthodox doctrine, the Holy Spirit is not a spiritual force that merely gives emotional experiences, but is the Spirit of God who guides all who truly receive him to a common devotion to the unchangeable truth as found within the tradition of the Church.²⁰ Christ taught, "when the Spirit of truth comes, he will guide you into all truth."²¹ Thus, if the Charismatic movement represents a greater measure of the work of the Holy Spirit, one would expect that all who receive the 'baptism of the Holy Spirit,' would be drawn to a common faith that would conform to that revealed by Christ to his Apostles and which has been preserved throughout the centuries by the Orthodox Church, which is the "visible, historical realization of the one Church."²² Instead, the Charismatic movement produces little unity of faith besides belief in the necessity of a few emotional experiences which Neo-Pentecostals teach are a more valid source of truth than the tradition of the Orthodox Church.

The Gifts of the Holy Spirit

DESPITE THE GREAT VARIETY of doctrine represented among the followers of Neo-Pentecostalism, all charismatics share a common set of beliefs and practices. The movement receives its title from the Greek word, 'charisma,' 'gift,' signifying its preoccupation with what they consider to be the gifts of the Holy Spirit. Basing their belief on a few verses found in Saint Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians, Neo-Pentecostals have identified nine specific gifts or charisma of the Holy Spirit: wisdom, knowledge, faith, miracles, healing, prophecy, discernment of spirits, glossolalia, and the interpretation of tongues.²³

²⁰Seraphim Nassar, *Divine Prayers and Services of the Catholic Orthodox Church* (Brooklyn, 1961), pp. 149, 165, 187, 315; Lossky, *Mystical Theology*, p. 188.

²¹Saint John 16.13.

²²Robert G. Stephanopoulos, *Guidelines for Orthodox Christians in Ecumenical Relations* (New York, n.d.), p. 4.

²³Dennis J. Bennett, "The Gifts of the Holy Spirit," in Hamilton, *The Charismatic*

It is self-evident that any examination of the validity of the charismatic understanding of the gifts of the Holy Spirit must consider the tradition of the Orthodox Church. Such noted theologians as Georges Florovsky and Vladimir Lossky insist that the sole guide to true spirituality and an understanding of the Bible is the witness of the Fathers and the tradition of the Church.²⁴ Significantly, one immediately finds a major difference between the Neo-Pentecostal doctrine of the gifts of the Holy Spirit on the basis of the Prophet Isaiah. This major Old Testament figure listed seven gifts of the Spirit of God: wisdom, understanding, counsel, fortitude, knowledge, piety, and the fear of God.²⁵

Even Saint Paul, the authority cited by charismatics as justification for their preoccupation with glossolalia, gives two other lists of the gifts of the Holy Spirit besides that found in 1 Corinthians 12.8-10. In Romans 12.6-8, the Apostle to the Gentiles outlines the gifts of the Spirit of God as prophecy, service, teaching, exhortation, contributing to the temporal affairs of the Church, giving aid, acts of mercy, and cheerfulness. In Ephesians 4.11-12, the same authority states, "his gifts were that some should be apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors, and teachers." He continues to state that the purpose of the gifts of the Holy Spirit is "to equip the saints for the work of ministry for building up the body of Christ." In 1 Corinthians 12.7, the passage before the list of gifts of the Spirit of God authoritative for charismatics, Saint Paul wrote, "to each is given the manifestations of the Spirit for the common good." Therefore, according to Saint Paul, the proper function of the gifts of the Holy Spirit is not the edification of the individual but of the entire body of Christ, which is the Church. His consideration of the administrative offices of the Church, apostles, prophets or preachers, pastors, and teachers as gifts of the Holy Spirit confirms the Orthodox teaching that the Holy Spirit operates through the Church and its ordained ministry.

Within the traditional spirituality of Orthodox Christianity, the emphasis is not on the gifts of the Holy Spirit, but on the gift of the Holy Spirit and on its fruits. As Metropolitan Philip of the Antiochian Archdiocese has written, "what we seek is not an 'experience,' but God himself."²⁶ At chrismation the Orthodox Christian receives the "gift of the Holy Spirit," which fills him and begins to transform him into a new

Movement, p. 16; Stephanou, *Charismatic Renewal*, pp. 7-9.

²⁴Lossky, *Mystical Theology*, p. 162;

²⁵Isaiah 11.2; Cabasilas, *Life in Christ*, p. 108; Antiochian Orthodox Archdiocese, *A Pocket Prayer Book for Orthodox Christians* (Englewood, New Jersey, 1956), p. 31.

²⁶Metropolitan Philip Sailiba and Fr. Joseph J. Allen, *Out of the Depths Have I Cried* (Brookline, Mass., 1979), p.8.

creature in Christ.²⁷ Indeed, this transformation or "grace divine which always healeth that which is infirm and completeth that which is wanting,"²⁸ is the most important activity of the Holy Spirit. For this reason Orthodox spirituality as expressed by such authorities as Nicholas Kabasilas sees no real distinction between the gifts of the Holy Spirit and the fruits, the results of this transforming process.²⁹

Inspired by the testimony of 2 Peter 1.3-4 that the third person of the Holy Trinity works a change so great that a person may become a 'partaker of divine nature,' the Church proclaims that the true goal of all spirituality is the total transformation of the believer into the image and likeness of God. The Church teaches that the Holy Spirit actually makes a person divine, saying, "Verily through the Holy Spirit is everyone made divine."³⁰ Saint John of Damascus states that the Holy Spirit deifies, fills, and sanctifies the true Christian.³¹ Therefore, the transformation of a person by the Holy Spirit is the sum total of the healthy Christian life. The goal of every Christian must not be the collection of gifts from the Holy Spirit, but growth into a new creature who is deified into the image and likeness of God. This state, the end of a successful Christian life, is described by Lossky as "a new nature, a restored creature which appears in the world. It is a new body pure from all taint of sin..."³² By emphasizing real or imagined gifts of the Holy Spirit as ends in themselves, rather than the results of spiritual growth, Neo-Pentecostalism is in grave danger of preoccupation with emotional experiences rather than with the most important work of the Holy Spirit, the deification of the faithful Christian.

Naturally, the Holy Spirit does give gifts or graces to believers. However, not every Christian receives the same gifts, for as Saint Paul wrote, "there are varieties of gifts, but the same Spirit."³³ Gifts which are received such as abilities to teach, to sing, to administer the Church, to counsel, and to preach are always given for the benefit of the Church, not for the glorification of the individual.³⁴ For as Saint Paul proclaimed, "to each is given the manifestation of the Spirit for the common good."³⁵ However, as Theophan the Recluse warns, even legitimate gifts of the

²⁷Alexander Schmemmann, *Of Water and the Spirit* (Crestwood, N.Y., 1974), pp. 77-81.

²⁸Antiochian Orthodox Archdiocese, *Service Book* (Englewood, N.J., 1971), p. 231.

²⁹Cabasilas, *Life in Christ*, p. 107; A Monk of the Eastern Church, *Orthodox Spirituality* (Crestwood, N.Y., 1978), pp. 70-71; Lossky, *Mystical Theology*, p. 162.

³⁰Nassar, *Divine Prayers* p. 181.

³¹Saint John of Damascus, "Exposition of the Orthodox Faith," trans. S.D.F. Salmond, in Schaff, ed. *Nicene Fathers*, Second Series, vol. 9, p.9.

³²Lossky, *Mystical Theology*, p. 155.

³³1 Corinthians 12.4.

³⁴Hopko, *Spirit*, pp.89-90.

³⁵1 Corinthians 12.7.

Holy Spirit or "virtues may do more harm than their open omission to those who take them as the sole basis of their life and hope...."³⁶ Therefore, the emphasis on the gifts of the Holy Spirit as the center of the Christian life as implied by charismatic literature can actually pose an extreme danger to the spiritual life. Bennett, Fr. Stephanou, and other Neo-Pentecostals teach persons to acquire and practice what they consider the gifts of the Holy Spirit. However, they fail to provide guidance for their correct use or to integrate usage of the gifts of the Holy Spirit into the other essential aspects of healthy spirituality. Indeed, it seems that they have made certain emotional experiences that they consider the gifts of the Holy Spirit, especially glossolalia, the center of their piety to the exclusion of other essential aspects of the faith that act to guide usage of the gifts of the Holy Spirit, real or imagined, along proper channels.

The Christian who sets out to grow spiritually must always guard against allowing blessings or gifts from God, real or imagined, to produce spiritual pride. As Patriarch Kallistos and Ignatios Xanthopoulos wrote in *The Philokalia*, perhaps the greatest guide to true Orthodox spirituality, "when the mind begins to feel the blessed comfort of the Holy Spirit, then Satan, too, slips his own comfort into the soul..."³⁷ This false comfort can lead a person to believe that they have special graces and to develop spiritual pride as a result. Indeed, spiritual pride is the enemy of all spiritual growth, for as Abba Evagrios wrote, "the demon of pride is the cause of the most grievous fall of the soul."³⁸ Certainly, every Orthodox spiritual master, such as Saint John of the Ladder, warns that pride is a "paramount evil which fully takes the place of all the others."³⁹ Spiritual pride can easily lead a person to an even more serious spiritual disease, spiritual delusion or prelest.

Prelest, a condition considered potentially fatal to the spiritual life by all authorities on Orthodox spirituality, results when a person seeks to excel in spiritual growth without proper humility. If a person seeks great mystical experiences, such as visions or messages from God, or special gifts of the Holy Spirit, he can open himself up to prelest by concentrating on the desire for extraordinary manifestations of God rather than on his own sinful condition and the need for further growth. This deep pride and self-reliance in spiritual matters can cause a person to feel that his own personal inclinations are inspired by the Holy Spirit. Such a person sees no need for guidance from the Church or his own spiritual father. In short a person suffering from prelest can become so proud that

³⁶Theophan the Recluse, ed. *Unseen Warfare*, trans. E. Kadloubovsky and G.E.H. Palmer (Crestwood, N.Y., 1978), p. 78.

³⁷E. Kadloubovsky and G.E.H. Palmer, ed. and trans., *Writings from the Philokalia on Prayer of the Heart* (London, 1977), p. 241.

³⁸Ibid., p. 112.

³⁹Saint John Klimakos, *The Ladder of Divine Ascent* (Brookline, Mass, 1978), p. 171.

he actually rebels against the Church and responds with anger when called upon to repent and to submit to the guidance of the Church through his spiritual father.⁴⁰

As 1 John 4.1, "Beloved, do not believe every spirit, but test to see whether they are of God." This testing takes place, according to the unanimous testimony of the Fathers and spiritual masters of the Christian East, through frequent and honest consultation with one's spiritual father. For as Metropolitan Philip and Fr. Joseph Allen have written, "Direction, thus is crucial, lest one, ending with only himself, falls into a clear case of idolatry."⁴¹ This direction is necessary because as Theophan the Recluse stated, the evil one seeks to confuse a person who has set out on the right path towards spiritual growth by persuading him that he can reach perfection on his own without the guidance of a spiritual father. Instead, this great authority on Orthodox spirituality warns a person to verify "all his actions, both inner and outer, by the good judgement of his teachers—priests in their parishes—in the case of laymen...."⁴² As the Fathers teach, a person cannot judge for himself what is to his spiritual benefit. Instead, every Christian must seek guidance from the tradition of the Church and his own spiritual father. Through frequent discussions with one's spiritual father, a person can recognize his sins and shortcomings and unite himself with the great spiritual tradition of the Church by rejecting false beliefs and practices. In this way a person can 'test every spirit,' and grow spiritually in such a way as to avoid falling into spiritual pride or prelest.⁴³

However, for all its enthusiasm, the Charismatic movement fails to consider this essential aspect of spiritual growth. Instead, it reveals its essentially Protestant nature by emphasizing one's personal experiences and a highly individualized approach to spirituality. Indeed, as Protestants, most Neo-Pentecostals reject the concept of guidance from a spiritual father. Orthodox charismatics often neglect or refuse to recognize this important source of spiritual guidance. Fr. Stephanou even advises clergy to accept the leadership of charismatics because he believes that they have had a superior spiritual experience than the priest who has not been "baptized in the Holy Spirit."⁴⁴ He states that most clergy "know the Holy Spirit with their heads—not with their hearts."⁴⁵ Claiming that Neo-Pentecostals have a greater measure of the Holy Spirit than those outside of the movement, Fr. Stephanou charges that

⁴⁰Theophan the Recluse, *Unseen Warfare*, pp. 78-79; Metropolitan Anthony (Khrapovitsky) *Confession*, trans. Christopher Birchall (Jordanville, N.Y., 1975), p. 44.

⁴¹Metropolitan Philip, *Out of the Depths*, p. 85.

⁴²Theophan the Recluse, *Unseen Warfare*, p. 165.

⁴³Monk of The Eastern Church, *Orthodox Spirituality*, pp. 104-05, 175-77.

⁴⁴Stephanou, *Charismatic Renewal*, pp. 67-71.

⁴⁵Ibid, p. 28.

the Orthodox Church is actually "devoid of the Holy Spirit."⁴⁶ However, as the Fathers teach, the Holy Spirit operates through the Church and guides its clergy to proclaim the fullness of the truth. Therefore, no true Orthodox Christian can believe that the Church is "devoid of the Holy Spirit." Staretz Silouan even teaches that a person must submit to the guidance of an inexperienced and sinful confessor for "the saving grace of the Holy Spirit is at work in the sacrament of Confession."⁴⁷ Indeed, the teaching that would limit the activity of the Holy Spirit by linking the validity of sacraments and spiritual guidance to the spirituality or holiness of the priest is a modern form of Donatism, a heresy condemned by the Church in the fourth century.⁴⁸

Unfortunately, the Charismatic movement has often led to symptoms that show the presence of spiritual pride and even prelest, perhaps a direct result of its failure to consider the importance of following the guidance of the Church or of one's spiritual father. Stories of division within local parishes as a result of Neo-Pentecostalism abound in every denomination that has experienced its influence. Scholarly studies of the movement have almost without exception found a very strong tendency on the part of charismatics to consider themselves spiritually superior to others who do not share their experiences or speak in tongues.⁴⁹ One Protestant work on the movement has observed that some persons who practice glossolalia "feel that those who do not have this gift are second-class Christians."⁵⁰ A statement concerning the Charismatic movement adopted unanimously by the Synod of Bishops of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America characterized it as prompting "the creation of self-proclaimed, self-righteous spiritual elitism."⁵¹

Significantly, as any student of the New Testament knows, the Corinthian Church, which displayed so many manifestations of the gifts of the Holy Spirit, showed all the signs of the spiritual pride found among many modern charismatics. It is highly significant that Saint Paul inserted his famous plea for love as the highest gift of the Holy Spirit in his discussion of the spiritual condition of the Christians in Corinth. From the context of his discussion, it is highly evident that spiritual elitism was a serious problem in Corinth. Indeed, the problems of the

⁴⁶Ibid.

⁴⁷Staretz Silouan, *Wisdom from Mt. Athos*, ed. Archimandrite Sophrony, trans. Rosemary Edmonds (Crestwood, N.Y., 1974), p. 80.

⁴⁸Walker, *History of the Christian Church*, p. 80.

⁴⁹Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*, p. 13; W.A. Criswell, "Facts Concerning Modern Glossolalia," in Jorstad, *The Holy Spirit*, p. 92; James C. Logan, "Controversial Aspects of the Movement," in Hamilton, *Charismatic Movement*, p. 43; Frank Benson, "A Story of Division" *ibid*, pp. 185-94.

⁵⁰Stokes, *Holy Spirit*, p. 144.

⁵¹Bishop Maximos of Pittsburgh, "True and False Renewal in the Life of the Church: The Position of the Holy Synod of Bishops" *Logos*, May-June, 1981, p.6.

Corinthian Church had become so serious by the end of the first century that Saint Clement of Rome had to write his famous admonishment to them to respect the ordained clergy.⁵² Thus, the Holy Scriptures and the experience of the Apostolic Church confirms the teaching of the Fathers that the acquisition of spiritual gifts, real or imagined, is not the essence of the Christian faith. Indeed, without proper guidance and humility a person can easily misuse the gifts of the Holy Spirit and become self-righteous.

As Christ states, "You will know them by their fruits."⁵³ Since the fruits of Neo-Pentecostalism are often spiritual pride and prelest, Orthodox Christians must approach the Charismatic movement with great reservations, if at all. The self-righteousness that often accompanies involvement in Neo-Pentecostalism is caused by an undue emphasis on personal religious experience as an end in itself, but is also a result of the Protestant nature of the movement. Historically, Protestantism has taught that each believer is able to interpret Holy Scripture and spiritual experiences for himself, a result of the rebellion of the reformers against the authoritarianism of medieval Roman Catholicism. Thus, spirituality becomes self-reliant and highly individualistic. Significantly, many popular Protestant hymns display a strong individualism by emphasizing personal experiences rather than the common experience of the Church throughout the centuries. Thus, Protestants sing of receiving 'Blessed Assurance,' being saved, or of receiving special individual blessings from God. This is especially true of Protestant hymns utilized by the Charismatic movement such as, "He Touched Me," "Fill My Cup Lord," "He's the Saviour of My Soul," and "Fill Me Now." On the other hand, Orthodox Christian hymnology glorifies Christ, or the work of God in the life of a saint rather than the person singing the hymn. Orthodox hymnology is almost never in the first person singular and rarely in the first person plural. Instead it expresses the faith of the Church in terms that glorify God rather than the individual and his person and religious experiences.⁵⁴

Glossolalia

ASIDE FROM SPIRITUAL pride and divisiveness caused by the creation of a self-proclaimed elite, the most controversial aspect of Neo-Pentecostalism is the emphasis on glossolalia. According to charismatic belief, speaking in tongues takes place when the Holy Spirit seizes a person's vocal cords to produce speech in an 'unknown tongue.' Although

⁵²St. Clement of Rome, "Letter to the Church of Corinth," pp. 43-47.

⁵³Saint Matthew 7.16.

⁵⁴The author was an evangelical Protestant during childhood.

the person has no idea of what is being said, Fr. Stephanou and other charismatics define speaking in tongues as a more perfect form of prayer during which the Holy Spirit speaks to the Father through the unintelligible sounds of glossolalia. Bennett identifies two forms of tongues. In the most common type a person prays in his own private 'prayer language' through the prompting of the Holy Spirit. In the second, the Holy Spirit uses a person to deliver a message to the faithful through a second individual who possesses the gift of interpretation.⁵⁵

Charismatics base their emphasis on glossolalia on several passages of the New Testament that refer to 'speaking in a tongue.' In the Acts of the Apostles there are four instances of tongues. In the first and most famous, the Holy Spirit descended on the Apostles at Pentecost and they "began to speak in other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance."⁵⁶ As a result, men of many different nations, who had assembled in Jerusalem for the feast, "heard them speaking in his own language."⁵⁷ According to the Tradition of the Church as reflected in the hymns of the Feast of Pentecost, the tongues at Pentecost were a manifestation of the universality of the Gospel and the unity of mankind through the Holy Spirit. Sin at the Tower of Babel brought division through the confusion of languages, but the Holy Spirit brought all men together to unity through the Gospel of Jesus Christ at Pentecost.⁵⁸ However, despite the claims of the Neo-Pentecostals, it is clear from Holy Scriptures that the tongues at Pentecost were real human language given to the Apostles for the purpose of communicating the Gospel, not the 'unknown tongues' of glossolalia. In the other three instances of tongues in Acts, each is a manifestation of the spread of the Holy Spirit to various groups of people and are reflections of the original Pentecost, not examples of private blessings or utterances in unknown tongues as in the case with glossolalia.⁵⁹ Significantly, many other references to the reception of the Holy Spirit in Acts contain no mention of speaking in tongues.⁶⁰

Despite the importance given to glossolalia by Neo-Pentecostals, this phenomenon can be found no place in the entire Bible, except for a possible reference to glossolalia in Saint Paul's First Letter to the Corinthians. Some charismatics cite the promise of Christ in Saint Mark 16.17 that those who believe "will speak in new tongues," as an endorsement of their view of tongues. However, this passage does not actually speak of glossolalia as practiced by Neo-Pentecostals. In its proper biblical

⁵⁵Stephanou, *Charismatic Renewal*, pp. 7-12; Bennet, "Gifts of the Holy Spirit," p. 16; Dennis and Rita Bennett, *The Holy Spirit and You* (Plainfield, 1971), pp. 81-89.

⁵⁶Acts 2.4.

⁵⁷Acts 2.5.

⁵⁸Nassar, *Divine Prayers*, p. 999.

⁵⁹Acts 8.4-24, 10.44-46, 19.1-7.

⁶⁰Hoekema, *Holy Spirit Baptism*, pp. 78-81.

context, this verse is a reference to the commission of the Apostles to preach the Gospel to men and women of all nations, cultures, and languages. The original Christians spoke Aramaic or Greek. Today Christians speak, preach, pray, and worship in many different languages unknown or new to the original Christians. Indeed, in fulfillment of Christ's command, given at the beginning of the passage, the Apostles and their successors have gone to many different lands to preach the Gospel in many different languages or tongues.⁶¹ Thus, Saint Mark 16.17 and the history of Christian missions illustrates the validity of the interpretation of Augustine and Leo the Great that the Church exercises the gift of tongues or languages unknown to the original apostolic community. Thus, Christ never speaks of glossolalia. Nor does Saint Paul mention this phenomenon in any of his letters, aside from a possible reference to speaking in tongues in his First Letter to the Corinthians. It would seem that if speaking in tongues is as important as the charismatics claim, Christ would have spoken of it and evidence of its importance would be found in many different sections of the New Testament.

In the passages utilized by Neo-Pentecostals as justification for their preoccupation with tongues, Saint Paul actually discourages excessive emphasis on speaking in tongues. He places it last in the list of the gifts of the Holy Spirit, insisting that love and prophecy (inspired preaching or teaching) are greater manifestations of the Spirit of God.⁶² Although Fr. Stephanou and other charismatics insist that every Christian should pray in tongues daily, Saint Paul states that every Christian has not received this gift. Although the Apostle does not forbid speaking in tongues, he does impose strict limits on its use. He insists that only a few persons be allowed to speak in tongues publicly, and then only when someone is able to explain the meaning of what is said. Significantly, Saint Paul states, "as for tongues, they will cease...."⁶³ Indeed, Saint Paul emphasizes the fact that prophecy, "proclamation of the Gospel inspired and filled by the Spirit," is much more important than speaking in tongues. Unlike the charismatics, the Apostle never states that speaking in tongues is required of all as proof of the presence of the Holy Spirit, or that it leads to a higher level of spirituality.⁶⁴ Therefore, the position of Saint Paul on speaking in tongues is quite different than that of the Charismatic movement.

Biblical scholars differ as to the exact meaning of scriptural references to speaking in tongues. Saint John Chrysostom acknowledges

⁶¹St. Mark 16.15.

⁶²1 Corinthians 12.8-10, 13.1, 14.1.

⁶³1 Corinthians 12.31, 14.27-28.

⁶⁴H. Haarbeck, "Word, Tongue, Utterance," in Colin Brown, ed. *The New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology* (Grand Rapids, 1978), vol. 3, p. 1080.

that the gift as an individual experience has ceased to exist within the Church. However, he speculates that it was the ability to speak in a language foreign to the speaker.⁶⁵ As has been seen, Augustine and Leo the Great state that the gift still exists, but that it has become the property of the Church which manifests the gift of tongues by preaching and worshipping in many different languages as the Gospel is carried to different peoples.⁶⁶ At least one ancient Christian writer, Tertullian, defines glossolalia as ecstatic utterances rather than as the ability to speak in foreign languages.⁶⁷ Most modern biblical scholars agree with Tertullian and define glossolalia as a form of ecstatic speech caused by intense emotionalism. Filled with joy through the presence of the Holy Spirit, a person would be unable to express his feelings in normal speech and would lapse into incoherent babble.⁶⁸ Significantly, the charismatic insistence that glossolalia is speaking in an 'unknown tongue,' is based on a faulty translation of the original Greek text by the compilers of the King James Version. Actually the adjective 'unknown' does not exist in the original text, which merely speaks of 'tongues' using a Greek word, 'glossa' that can also be translated as 'languages.' Thus the Holy Scriptures never speak of the gift of speaking in an unknown tongue.⁶⁹ Some biblical scholars even see glossolalia as a result of pagan influence on the early Christians, especially those in Corinth surrounded by pagan religions. In many faiths of the ancient world, a person expressed enthusiasm through unintelligible speech.⁷⁰

Even today, glossolalia is a common feature of non-Christian religions in many different parts of the world. One recent study has identified tongue speakers in such diverse faiths as Eskimo shamanism, several groups in Borneo, the religion of the Caddo Indians of North America, Lamanist Buddhism, and several cults in Japan.⁷¹ In addition

⁶⁵ St. John Chrysostom, *Corinthians*, p. 168.

⁶⁶ Waldvogel, "Speaking in Tongues," pp. 68-69.

⁶⁷ Ibid, p. 66.

⁶⁸ Richard Kugelman, "The First Letter to the Corinthians," in Raymond E. Brown, et. al. eds. *The Jerome Biblical Commentary* (Englewood Cliffs, 1968), p. 272; C.S.C. Williams, "I and II Corinthians," in Matthew Black, ed. *Peake's Commentary on the Bible* (Sundbury-on-Thames Middlesex, 1977), p. 961; A.J. Grieve, "Charismata Gifts of the Spirit," in James Hastings, and John A. Selbie, eds. *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (New York, 1951), vol. 3, pp. 368-72; P. Feine, "Speaking with Tongues," in Samuel Maculey Jackson, ed. *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopaedia of Religious Knowledge* (New York, 1911), vol. 11, pp. 36-39.

⁶⁹ Raymond B. Brown, "I Corinthians," in Clifton J. Allen, *The Broadman Bible Commentary* (Nashville, 1970), vol. 10, pp. 377-81.

⁷⁰ Walter Schmithals, *Gnosticism in Corinth*, trans. by John E. Steely (Nashville, 1965), pp. 172-75; John L. McKenzie, *Dictionary of the Bible* (New York, 1965), p. 896.

⁷¹ L. Carlyle May, "A Survey of Glossolalia and Related Phenomena in Non-Christian Religions," *American Anthropologist*, 58 (May, 1956) 95-96.

to non-Christians, followers of the Way, Mormonism and other non-Christian groups also practice glossolalia.⁷² Significantly, one of the largest Pentecostal groups in the United States, The United Pentecostal Church, rejects the Orthodox doctrine of the Holy Trinity, a curious parallel to some ancient Montanists, and has no form of baptism that can be recognized as valid by the Orthodox Church.⁷³ Therefore, the ability to speak in tongues is no evidence that a person is even a Christian, much less that he has been filled with the Holy Spirit.

Several very interesting scholarly studies of the phenomenon of glossolalia, as practiced by Pentecostals and other charismatics, provide substantial evidence that its origins are more psychological than spiritual. Although early studies by such scholars as George Cutten consider tongues a manifestation of psychotic behavior, most contemporary psychologists consider it merely a form of learned behavior.⁷⁴ One study of several Pentecostal and charismatic groups has shown that members of the same group tend to display the same basic linguistic patterns when speaking in tongues.⁷⁵ John P. Kildahl, a clinical psychologist, has confirmed the research of others and has shown that glossolalia is a form of learned behavior. He has discovered that persons who speak in tongues receive the ability following a stress-filled situation that leads them to seek an emotional release of their feelings. They show a tendency to be easily hypnotized that makes them susceptible to suggestions from a charismatic leader, and of a group that encourages them to seek the ability to speak in tongues. Although glossolalia can provide a release from tension and a sense of well-being, it can also lead to despondency. Finally, Kildahl's research has concluded that glossolalia is not a real human language, known or unknown, and that the person who speaks in tongues has always learned the method of glossolalia from another person.⁷⁶

The history and practices of the Charismatic movement provide very strong evidence that support Kildahl's conclusions. Pentecostalism, the forerunner of the Charismatic movement, began and spread among people who actively sought the ability to speak in tongues. Through study

⁷²Waldvogel, "Speaking in Tongues," pp. 87-88; Irvine Robertson, *What the Cults Believe* (Chicago, 1979), pp. 17-43, 85-93.

⁷³Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*, pp. 31-32, 44.

⁷⁴Quebededeaux, *Charismatics*, pp. 199-202; Viginia H. Hine, "Pentecostal Glossolalia: Towards a Functional Interpretation," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 8 (1969) 211-25.

⁷⁵Felicitas Goodman, "Phonetic Analysis of Glossolalia in Four Cultural Settings," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 8 (1969) 227-39.

⁷⁶John P. Kildahl, "Psychological Observations," in Hamilton, ed. *Charismatic Movement*, pp. 124-242.

of a faulty translation of the original Greek text found in the King James Version of Saint Paul's First Letter to the Corinthians, the students of Charles F. Parham in Kansas, where the movement began, had decided that the one sure sign of having received the Holy Spirit was the ability to speak in an unknown tongue. The growth of Pentecostalism and the Charismatic movement has always come through contact with others who speak in tongues, not through independent spontaneous religious experiences. Dennis Bennett, the father of Neo-Pentecostalism, heard of glossolalia from a couple who had learned how to speak in tongues from members of the older Pentecostal churches. By his own testimony, he received the ability through their influence and by following their instructions. Fr. Stephanou wrote that he "coveted the gift," following his experience with Orthodox charismatics in Huntington, West Virginia.⁷⁷ Others tell of receiving the experience following coaching from a charismatic leader who encourages them to repeat a phrase over and over again, or to make a sound while others pray over them. In many cases, a leader has told persons desiring the ability to imitate others while they prayed over them in tongues. In one instance, a charismatic actually shook a person's jaw to loosen it so he could make the appropriate sounds of glossolalia.⁷⁸

It is highly probable that the glossolalia, so treasured by Neo-Pentecostals, is not a manifestation of the Holy Spirit, but is merely learned behavior. It is also highly likely that tongues, as practiced by charismatics, only bear a superficial resemblance to the gift of tongues found in Holy Scriptures. The disappearance of glossolalia from the Church as an individual experience for almost 2,000 years, only to be 'rediscovered' by persons outside of Orthodoxy, is reason alone to question the validity of the phenomenon for Orthodox Christians. The psychological and historical studies that conclude that glossolalia, as practiced by charismatics is nothing more than learned behavior, also strengthens the case against speaking in tongues as an important asset to spiritual life. Indeed, if glossolalia were such an indispensable aspect of spiritual growth, one would find evidence of its occurrence at Mount Athos, or in the writings of the Fathers and other authorities on true Orthodox spirituality. The fact that nowhere in the tradition of the Church can one find justification for the charismatic emphasis on glossolalia, can only lead to the conclusion that it is a very insignificant manifestation of the Holy Spirit, if it is actually a manifestation of the Spirit of God.

Naturally most Orthodox Christians have experienced religious emo-

⁷⁷Bennett, *Nine O' Clock* p. 20; Stephanou, "The Quickening Spirit," p. 4.

⁷⁸Criswell, "Modern Glossolalia," pp. 91-92; *Orthodoxy and the Religion of the Future*, pp. 46-47.

tionalism at one time or another. During Holy Week and at Pascha the churches are filled with persons so moved that they cannot express their feelings in words. Many Orthodox Christians, who are filled with the Holy Spirit through their chrismation, have felt emotions so intense that their throats tighten and their eyes fill with tears, without the Charismatic movement. Since many biblical scholars conclude that glossolalia at Corinth was the result of religious ecstasy, could not the phrase "gift of tongues," be Saint Paul's way of referring to religious emotionalism that one cannot express in normal words? Indeed, could not the "gift of tongues," mentioned in First Corinthians, be essentially like the gift of tears, especially tears of repentance, spoken of by the Fathers and definitely a part of the tradition of the Church. Could not then the gift of tongues found in Corinth "represent an act of 'letting go'—the crucial moment in the breaking down of our sinful self-trust and its replacement by a willingness to allow God to act within us," as Bishop Kallistos Ware has suggested.⁷⁹ If this is the case, the gift of tongues is not the reception of a mystical prayer language as the charismatics teach, but is merely Saint Paul's expression used to describe the condition of a person so moved with joy that they cannot express their feelings in the languages or tongues of men. This experience, if it is the result of a new commitment to Christ and reawakening of the gift of the Holy Spirit received at chrismation, can, indeed, be a gift of the Holy Spirit. Thus, the gift of tongues continues to exist within the context of Orthodox spirituality and has existed since the founding of the Church at Pentecost. This gift is manifested in two different ways, just as the gift of tongues was manifested in two different ways in the Apostolic Church. In one way the Church continues to utilize the gift received at Pentecost by proclaiming the Gospel in many different languages, as Augustine and Leo the Great suggest. In the other way, the way of the church at Corinth, individuals are so moved by the Holy Spirit that they cannot express their emotions in the languages or tongues of normal conversation, but through the tears of repentance and incoherent expressions of joy at the recognition that God has forgiven their sins and redeemed them through Jesus Christ.

Prayer

HOWEVER VALID RELIGIOUS emotionalism can be in its proper context, it is not the sum total of the spiritual life, nor is it 'prayer in the Spirit.' Neither emotionalism nor glossolalia as practiced by Neo-Pentecostals is the 'prayer in the Spirit,' found in Holy Scripture and the Tradition of the Church. In his treatise on prayer, Saint John of the Lad-

⁷⁹Kallistos Ware, *The Orthodox Way* (Crestwood, N.Y., 1979), p. 134.

der never mentions glossolalia.⁸⁰ Saint Seraphim of Sarov, who emphasized the power of the Holy Spirit, likewise never speaks of tongues.⁸¹ The great classic, *The Way of the Pilgrim*, also fails to allude to this phenomenon, although some charismatics vainly attempt to define the Jesus Prayer as a form of glossolalia.⁸² Neither is there any evidence to seek the ability to speak in tongues in *The Philokalia*.⁸³ Saint Symeon the New Theologian, who describes in detail his personal ecstatic experiences, said "Holy God," or "Lord, have mercy," while filled with the Holy Spirit, but did not speak in an 'unknown tongue'.⁸⁴

There are, however, frequent references in the authorities on true Orthodox spirituality to the highest form of prayer, prayer in the Spirit. However, this prayer is definitely not glossolalia, for, as Saint John Cassian learned from the Desert Fathers, it is entirely silent, and "is marked by no vocal expression."⁸⁵ As Saint Nilos of Sinai taught, perfect prayer is "complete separation from all sensory things."⁸⁶ Theophan the Recluse identifies three degrees of prayer, none of which include glossolalia. In the first, a person simply repeats the words of written prayers, while in the second and higher form, "the mind is focused upon the written words to the point of speaking them as if they were his own." Finally, concentration and effort leads to the highest form of prayer during which the heart is warmed and a person "will pray without words, for God is God of the heart."⁸⁷ Therefore in the tradition of the Orthodox Church, prayer during which "the spirit intercedes for us..."⁸⁸ is not glossolalia. According to the Fathers and authorities on Orthodox spirituality such prayer is without vocal expression of any kind.⁸⁹

One important feature of the prayer life of the Charismatic movement is the prayer meeting. At these sessions, persons gather for nonliturgical spontaneous prayer, scripture reading, singing of Protes-

⁸⁰ Saint John Klimakos, *The Ladder*, pp. 212-20.

⁸¹ Saint Seraphim of Sarov, "A Conversation of St. Seraphim of Sarov with Nicholas Motovilov Concerning the Aim of the Christian Life," in George P. Fedotov, *A Treasury of Russian Spirituality* (Belmont, Mass, 1975), pp. 266-79.

⁸² *The Way of a Pilgrim, and the Pilgrim Continues His Way*, trans. R.M. French (New York, 1965).

⁸³ Kadloubovsky and Palmer, *Philokalia on Prayer of the Heart*; E. Kadloubovsky, and G.E.H. Palmer, ed. and trans. *Early Fathers from the Philokalia* (London, 1967).

⁸⁴ St. Symeon, The New Theologian, *The Discourses*, trans. C.J. de Catanzaro (New York, 1980), pp. 200-01.

⁸⁵ St. John Cassian, "The Conferences of Cassian," in Owen Chadwick, ed. *Western Asceticism* (Philadelphia, 1958), p. 226.

⁸⁶ Kadloubovsky and Palmer, *Early Fathers from the Philokalia*, p. 147.

⁸⁷ Kadloubovsky and Palmer, *Philokalia on Prayer of the Heart*, p. 63.

⁸⁸ Romans 8.26

⁸⁹ Theophan the Recluse, "What Is Prayer," Igumen Chariton of Valmo, ed. *The Art of Prayer* (London, 1966), p. 52.

tant hymns, testimony, and teaching by a leader.⁹⁰ Naturally such meetings often include manifestations of glossolalia and other phenomenon considered gifts of the Holy Spirit by charismatics. Although Fr. Stephanou encourages Orthodox charismatics to form prayer groups, this aspect of Neo-Pentecostalism also differs from the tradition of the Orthodox Church.⁹¹ Significantly, the first Christians in Jerusalem met not for prayer, but for "the prayers" following Pentecost; a sign of organized liturgical prayer, most likely patterned after the prayers of the Jewish temple and synagogue.⁹² As Saint Demetri of Rostov states, "There are two basic forms of prayer for Orthodox Christians, public or corporate prayer and private prayer." Public prayer always follows a definite liturgical order such as Great Vespers, the Divine Liturgy, the Hours or some other service of the Church. During liturgical common prayer, the individual becomes a part of the assembly of believers in humility. Private prayer is a secret communication between a person and God.⁹³ Even in private prayer, however, the Fathers teach that a person should always begin by reading the prayers of the saints rather than merely praying in one's own words. One advances to the higher forms of prayer by internalizing these examples of more perfect prayer than any beginner could compose and by making them one's own prayer.⁹⁴ Christ himself warned against public displays of piety as take place in charismatic prayer meetings. Instead he taught, "when you pray, go into your room and pray to your Father in secret."⁹⁵ Therefore, spontaneous public prayer as found during Neo-Pentecostal prayer meetings is foreign to Holy Scriptures, as well as a violation of the tradition of the Church. Such forms of spiritual exhibitionism as often found at charismatic prayer meetings can easily lead to pride and would tend to emphasize the individual rather than God. Orthodox Christians should express their faith by participation in the truly inspired services of their own Church rather than involvement in prayer meetings which follow a format stemming from Protestant beliefs and practices.

The Baptism of the Holy Spirit and Spiritual Renewal

AS A MOVEMENT that grew from Protestantism, Neo-Pentecostalism

⁹⁰Stephanou, *Charismatic Renewal*, p. 12.; Quebedeaux, *Charismatics*, p. 120; Heckman, "Pentecostal Movement," p. 5.

⁹¹Eusebius A. Stephanou, "Orthodoxy: Power unto Healing and Deliverance," *Logos*, May-June, 1976, p. 13.

⁹²Acts 2.42.

⁹³Saint Dimitri of Rostov, "The Inner Closet of the Heart," in Igumen Chariton of Valmo, *The Art of Prayer*, p. 45.

⁹⁴Anthony Bloom, *Living Prayer* (Springfield, 1966), pp. 59, 92; Theophan the Recluse, *Unseen Warfare*, p. 207

⁹⁵Saint Matthew 6.6.

implies that it is possible for one to be a Christian, yet not experience the blessings of the Holy Spirit. As most Protestants separate justification, that is, salvation and forgiveness of sins from sanctification, a concept similar but not identical to the Orthodox concept of deification, charismatics teach that in addition to becoming a Christian, one must also receive the Holy Spirit in a separate experience. This second blessing, stemming from the teachings of John Wesley, is an emotional experience called 'the baptism of the Holy Spirit,' by Neo-Pentecostals. Through baptism of the Holy Spirit, the believer advances to a higher spiritual plane and receives the gifts of the Holy Spirit. Bennett advises those desiring to receive the Spirit of God to:

- A. Ask Jesus to baptize you in the Holy Spirit. . .
- B. Believe you receive the moment you ask. . .
- C. Confess with your lips. . . Open your mouth and show that you believe the Lord has baptized you in the Spirit by beginning to speak. Don't speak English, or any other language you know, for God can't guide you to speak in tongues if you are speaking in a language known to you. You can't speak two languages at once! Trust God to give you the words. . .⁹⁶

Such a division between becoming a Christian and receiving Christ into one's life and receiving the Holy Spirit is foreign to Orthodoxy. Instead, the Church proclaims as Fr. Dumitru Staniloae wrote, "The faithful can possess Spirit only 'in Christ' and vice versa."⁹⁷ Indeed, the charismatic division between Christ and the Holy Spirit is a reflection of the influence of the filioque clause on Western Christendom. Due to the influence of the Roman addition to the Symbol of Faith, Western Christians have neglected the Holy Spirit and have even at times implied a subordination of the Holy Spirit to the Father and the Son.⁹⁸ This has led to an artificial separation between Christ and the Holy Spirit that is the basis for the charismatic insistence on the necessity of two separate spiritual experiences, one becoming a Christian, justification; and the other, the reception of the Holy Spirit, baptism of the Holy Spirit. This Western division between Christ and the Holy Spirit is found in Romanism and more traditional forms of Protestantism such as Anglicanism and Lutheranism which separates baptism from confirmation, the Western equivalent to chrismation, into two different experiences, one taking place in infancy and the other during adolescence.

However, in Orthodoxy there is no division between becoming a Christian through baptism and receiving the Holy Spirit through

⁹⁶Bennett, *Holy Spirit*, p. 69.

⁹⁷Dumitru Staniloae, *Theology and the Church*, trans. Robert Barringer (Crestwood, 1980), p. 26.

⁹⁸Ibid, pp. 13, 42-43.

chrismation. Instead, the believer receives the Holy Spirit immediately after baptism through chrismation. As the people of Samaria received the Spirit of God through the laying on of hands by the Apostles Peter and John, modern Orthodox Christians receive the Holy Spirit through oil consecrated by a bishop, a successor to the Apostles.⁹⁹ As Saint Cyril of Jerusalem said, "beware of supposing this to be plain ointment — but it is Christ's gift of grace, and by the advent of the Holy Spirit is made fit to impart his divine nature."¹⁰⁰ Nicholas Kabasilas wrote, "The effect of this sacred rite is the imparting of the energies of the Holy Spirit."¹⁰¹ Thus, according to Holy Scriptures and the tradition of the Church, one receives the Holy Spirit through the Apostles and their successors, that is, through the Church, not merely as a result of an individual desire to receive the Spirit of God as the charismatics teach.

Thus, according to Orthodox doctrine, one receives the Holy Spirit not only as a completion of baptism through chrismation, but also within the context of the life of the Church. As Fr. Thomas Hopko wrote:

Salvation is the Church and the Church is salvation, the gift of eternal life in the knowledge of God through communion with Him in His Son and His Spirit. . . In the dispensation of salvation. . . God reveals Himself to a body of believers. He does not act toward isolated individuals. He does not reveal Himself to persons simply in the privacy of their souls. . .¹⁰²

This is also the teaching of Saint Paul, who as George Cronk wrote, stated that, "Only on the basis of an explicit faith which leads to active membership in the Church of Christ does the believer receive the Holy Spirit as an indwelling presence in his life."¹⁰³ Thus, the highly individualistic emphasis found in all aspects of the Charismatic movement, and in its belief that one can receive the Holy Spirit through a private experience caused by personal prayer, is foreign to the tradition of the Orthodox Church and the teachings of Saint Paul.

As an Orthodox priest, Fr. Stephanou is careful not to stray too far from the Orthodox doctrine that one receives the Holy Spirit through chrismation following baptism, although he does not explain how Protestant charismatics who have not been chrismated can have a greater measure of the Holy Spirit than Orthodox Christians who have. However, he adds that one must awaken one's chrismation through a "new Holy

⁹⁹ Acts 8.14-17.

¹⁰⁰ Saint Cyril of Jerusalem, "The Catechetical Lectures," p. 150.

¹⁰¹ Cabasilas, *Life in Christ*, p. 106.

¹⁰² Thomas Hopko, *All the Fullness of God* (Crestwood, 1982), pp. 30-31.

¹⁰³ George Cronk, *The Message of the Bible: An Orthodox Christian Perspective* (Crestwood, 1982), p. 221.

Spirit experience" that comes through involvement in the Charismatic movement.¹⁰⁴ It is true that the Orthodox Christian who fails to grow beyond chrismation has failed to fulfill the potential received through baptism and chrismation. Indeed, as Saint Seraphim of Sarov taught, by falling into sin the believer denies his chrismation and grows farther from God instead of closer to him, thereby driving the Holy Spirit from his life.¹⁰⁵ As Saint Symeon the New Theologian stated, one must strive to grow spiritually and cannot receive the fullness of the Holy Spirit "before he practices the commandments."¹⁰⁶ Thus Fr. Stephanou is correct when he calls for spiritual renewal and rededication to Christ.

However, the true Orthodox Christian must seek spiritual renewal through the Church, which is the vehicle of the Holy Spirit and the fountain of grace, not through the Charismatic movement. Neo-Pentecostalism grew and developed its beliefs and practices outside of the tradition of the Church. As Fr. Theodore Stylianopoulos has written, "The Orthodox Church is a spiritual entity inwardly aglow with the Holy Spirit."¹⁰⁷ Naturally, as Fr. Stephanou correctly teaches, there is constant need for personal spiritual renewal. However, the Orthodox Church itself needs no renewal, for "it always remains new" through the grace of the Holy Spirit.¹⁰⁸ Therefore, the Orthodox Christian must seek spiritual renewal through a new commitment to the life of the Church. True spiritual growth begins with repentance and confession of sin, and matures through participation in the worship and sacramental fellowship of the Church, and through the development of Orthodox forms of prayer and piety. Indeed, for the Orthodox Christian the source of all true spiritual renewal must be the mystical life of the Church. As Nicholas Kabasilas wrote, "The holy life is brought about by the sacred Mysteries."¹⁰⁹ Through an increased devotion to the sacraments, especially the sacraments of confession and Holy Communion, the Orthodox Christian finds all that is needed for healthy spiritual renewal. Therefore, one does not need to turn to the Protestant Charismatic movement and thereby accept beliefs and practices that are foreign to the tradition of the Church for true spiritual renewal.

Naturally, Orthodox Christianity in America has not grown to full spiritual maturity. The absence of viable monasticism in America in all but a few places, and the division of the Church into various jurisdictions, are signs of this lack of maturity. However, the immaturity of

¹⁰⁴Stephanou, *Charismatic Renewal*, pp. 23-24.

¹⁰⁵Saint Seraphim, "A Conversation," p. 272.

¹⁰⁶Saint Symeon, *Discourses*, p. 244.

¹⁰⁷Theodore Stylianopoulos, *Christ in Our Midst: Spiritual Renewal in the Orthodox Church* (Brookline, 1981), p. 25.

¹⁰⁸*Ibid.*, p. 27.

¹⁰⁹Cabasilas, *Life in Christ*, p. 65.

American Orthodoxy is a direct result of the great difficulties faced by the founders of the Church in the New World. Poverty stricken immigrants in a new and often hostile land, the first Orthodox in America had to marshall all their resources for the preservation of their ancient faith and the establishment of viable parishes in the United States. However, despite almost insurmountable odds, they successfully resisted pressure to abandon their faith and laid the foundation for the growth of Orthodoxy into a major factor in American religion. This alone is a sign of their dedication to Christ and his holy Church.

Today the Church is stronger and can grow to maturity in America. Already there are many signs of the awakening of American Orthodox to the true meaning of their ancient faith. Excellent seminaries produce well trained clergy to lead the people into a new era of spiritual growth. Within the last few years several presses such as O Logos, Light and Life, St. Vladimir's Press, Hellenic College Press, and Holy Cross Press have produced a multitude of material covering every facet of Orthodox doctrine, worship, history, and spirituality. Thus, the faithful have ample opportunity to turn to the works of the Fathers and the great classics of Orthodox spirituality for guidance. At the same time, leaders such as Bishop Maximos of Pittsburgh of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese, have responded to the needs of the people through an inspiring spiritual renewal program. Through Metropolitan Philip, the Antiochian Archdiocese has transformed regional meetings into family life conferences with a new emphasis on spirituality. The Saint Vladimir's Foundation sends members of the seminary faculty throughout the nation to conduct retreats in parishes of the Orthodox Church in America and other jurisdictions. The Orthodox Christian Education Commission, and the Department of Religious Education of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese, have developed effective programs for church school and Christian education in the parish. In a few places monasticism is finally beginning to take root and to bring this important source of healthy Orthodox spirituality to the American Church. Priests are encouraging the faithful to more frequent confession and communion. In many parishes, liturgical renewal has introduced the faithful to previously neglected services such as the Divine Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts and Vespers. More and more communities of Orthodox Christians are growing beyond the narrow confines of ethnicism to worship in English and to welcome converts into their parish, while continuing to fulfill the necessary pastoral need to minister to the foreign born in their own language, a manifestation of the true gift of tongues given at Pentecost.

Thus, the 'American Orthodox Church' is entering a new era. The first Orthodox worked and struggled to build churches and to establish Orthodoxy in the New World. Now their descendents are growing to a more mature Orthodoxy as they are able to turn their attention to

spiritual matters, having inherited the physical things needed to maintain their Church from their ancestors. Thus, an Orthodox Christian seeking deeper spirituality need only turn to the renewal already taking place within his own Church, and does not need to turn to the Charismatic movement or any other form of spirituality foreign to the faith of the Fathers. Perhaps Neo-Pentecostalism and the agitation of Fr. Stephanou has played a role in the spiritual renewal now taking place within the Church by showing the need for spiritual growth. Indeed, the charismatics may have stimulated the clergy to respond to the challenge of Neo-Pentecostalism by showing the faithful that they can and should find spiritual edification within their own tradition.

Conclusions

WITH ITS ROOTS in the revivals of American Protestantism, the Charismaic movement embodies a spirituality that is foreign to Orthodoxy. Its origins, beliefs and practices are quite different than the sober spirituality of the Christian East. In a very real sense, the efforts of some Orthodox Christians to find inspiration in one form of American Protestantism, represents a subtle Americanization of the Orthodox Faith. Seen as followers of a strange and foreign religion by most of their neighbors, Orthodox Christians gain acceptance by a wider circle of persons from all churches through involvement in the interdenominational Neo-Pentecostal movement. Indeed, the ecumenical nature of the Charismatic movement which attempts to deemphasize one's doctrinal beliefs and the very real differences between the churches by drawing all, regardless of personal beliefs, into a common experience is a new form of the American civil religion of doctrinal relativism in the name of toleration. At the same time the implied promise of instant spirituality by charismatics is a reflection of the concern of contemporary American society for immediate self-gratification.

However, there is no place for instant spirituality in Orthodoxy, regardless of the pressures of secular American society. The tradition of the Church emphasizes the absolute necessity of constant growth and struggle to reach spiritual edification. Nor is there any place in true Orthodoxy for doctrinal relativism and the belief that it does not matter what a person believes if one has had certain emotional experiences. In spirit and form the Americanization of Orthodoxy through the Charismatic movement is a betrayal of the tradition of the Church. Orthodoxy is not a church, but is *the* Church which teaches the faith delivered by Christ to his Apostles for all men in all times and in all places. It is universal and is not tied to any specific ethnic culture. Orthodoxy is not Greek, Syrian, or Russian and should not become American, but rises above national and ethnic distinctions to unite all to the fullness of the Truth. Naturally, American Orthodox must strive to

express their ancient faith in terms that Americans can understand. They must also learn that an American Protestant may use the same words as an Orthodox Christian, but mean something completely different. The Orthodox Christian should strive to 'Orthodoxize' America, not to Americanize Orthodoxy. The Orthodox Christian must never sacrifice one aspect of the faith of the Fathers to blend into the American secular and religious scene by adopting American forms of spirituality through Protestant Neo-Pentecostalism.

Therefore, in conclusion, it is evident that the Charismatic movement is foreign to true Orthodox spirituality. It represents one small side stream of American Protestantism and contains many elements that violate fundamental principles of the spirituality of the Orthodox Church. Indeed, its beliefs and practices resemble more those of Montanism and other heretical movements than the faith of the Fathers. Its preoccupation with personal emotional experiences, especially glossolalia, can easily lead to spiritual pride or prelest. Indeed, speaking in tongues as practiced by charismatics is most likely learned behavior that bears only a superficial resemblance to the gift of tongues mentioned by Saint Paul. The danger of Neo-Pentecostalism is so great that the Church of Greece labeled the movement heretical as early as 1976. Recently, the Synod of Bishops of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America and the Sobor of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada have also condemned the Charismatic movement.¹¹⁰ Therefore, Orthodox Christians seeking deeper spirituality should avoid the Charismatic movement and Neo-Pentecostal propaganda and turn instead to the great treasure of genuine healthy spirituality available through Orthodoxy, thereby insuring true spiritual renewal rather than preoccupation with a few emotional experiences.

¹¹⁰ Archimandrite Maximos Xydias, "Encyclical Letter to the Reverend Pastors of Our Holy Archdiocese of Athens," *Logos*, May-June, 1976, p. 11; *The Orthodox Observer*, January 28, 1981, p. 1; *The Orthodox Church*, January, 1981, p. 2.

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which the problems of disunity could be addressed. This was an unprecedented gesture which demonstrated the willingness of the Patriarchate to become involved in efforts directed toward Christian reconciliation. In the years which followed, the encyclical became a symbol of the fact that genuine ecumenism had to include not only the representatives of Western Christianity but also the representatives of the Orthodox Church. Because of the importance which Vissert Hooft gives to the encyclical, he has included the full text as part of the appendix.

The final chapter of the text will also be especially valuable to those concerned with Orthodox participation in the WCC. The WCC came into formal existence in the year 1948. Vissert Hooft claims, however, that the period of formation lasted another two years. This is so because it was not until the year 1950 that discussion on the nature of the WCC and its relationship to member churches led to the adoption of an explicit agreed statement on these issues. The Toronto Statement of 1950, according to Vissert Hooft, was a necessary and very critical document which did much to clarify the nature and the tasks of the WCC. The statement, for example, clearly affirms that the WCC is not and must never be viewed as a super-church. The WCC is not the *Una Sancta* and it is not meant to be seen as such. Furthermore, the statement says that membership in the WCC does not imply that members necessarily view other members as churches in the true and full sense of the word. With this in mind, the statement recognizes that the purpose of the WCC is to bring the churches into contact with each other in order to promote the study and discussion of the issues of Christian unity. The Council exists to assist the member churches in bearing common witness and in working toward reconciliation, yet the Council cannot legislate or act for its member churches. Each member church retains the constitutional right to ratify or to reject the statements and actions of the Council.

W. A. Vissert Hooft has wisely devoted much attention to the development and the significance of the Toronto Statement of 1950, and has reprinted it in full in the appendix. In so doing, he appears to be reaffirming the fundamental nature and task of the WCC. Indeed, it can be said that this is the underlying concern of the entire study.

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The Christian Church: Biblical Origin, Historical Transformation, and Potential for the Future. By Hans Schwarz. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1982. Pp. 383. Cloth \$19.95.

Hans Schwarz, for over a decade professor of systematic theology at

Trinity Seminary, Columbus, Ohio, in 1981 joined the theological faculty in Regensburg, Germany. The author of four other books entitled *On the Way to the Future*, *Our Cosmic Journey*, *The Search for God*, and *Beyond the Gates of Death*, Dr. Schwarz is obviously more a theologian than a church historian as is clearly evidenced in his latest impressive volume. Though the three parts of his work are chronologically arranged and entitled "The Formative Era"; "The Great Transformation"; and "The Promise of the Future," the work is written from the point of view of an ecumenically-minded Lutheran theologian, whose seven chapters deal with "The Origin of the Church"; "The Structure of the New Testament Church"; "One Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church"; "The Church as Institution and Ferment"; "Between Reformation and Revolution"; "The Structural Elements of the Church," and "The Church as Memory, Anticipation, and Hope" in a way that tends to deal with the Christian Church, essentially the Protestant Church, and how it came into being, while being politely critical of the Eastern Orthodox and Roman Catholic churches.

Dr. Schwarz cites Galatians 1.13 and Acts 5.11 in calling the new people of God the church (*ekklesia*) and spends much time on the term *laos* to denote the Christian community—the proper term for the worshipping community in distinction from those with a leadership function. Schwarz emphasizes that the gift of grace is bestowed upon every church member and, therefore, every Christian is called to *diakonia*. He goes on to discuss apostles, presbyters, and bishops, including the idea of Christ as the invisible bishop of the whole church. In this connection, he has the opportunity to indicate that "The Bishop of Rome was only one of the patriarchs, presumably exercising jurisdiction over Italy, but he did not rule the whole church (p. 104) while recognizing the status given to the Bishop of Constantinople by the Ecumenical Synod of Constantinople of 381 ("first rank after the Bishop of Rome"). Schwarz's acceptance of the assertion that Moscow became "The Third and last Rome, the successor and spiritual heir of Rome and Constantinople" (p. 147) will certainly arouse serious questioning among all Orthodox. Schwarz is aware of the Orthodox notion of *theosis* (divinization) but tends to slide over how centrally Orthodox the notion is.

A good deal of time is spent on the history of the sacraments, leading to the Council of Trent (convened 1545, ended 1563), which confronted the Reformation in: (1) the area of Scripture and tradition; (2) the doctrine of justification; and (3) sacramental practice. All seven sacraments are discussed in detail, with clear indication of where Catholics, Orthodox, and Lutherans (and other Protestants) stand in respect to them. Especially important is the review of the history of the Eucharist. In addition to Luther, figures such as Peter Waldo, Girolamo Savonarola, Huldreich Zwingli, John Calvin, and John Knox are prominently highlighted for their

contributions to Reformation history. Schwarz makes the definitive statement that the "Church is wherever the Christian community is in union with its founder and head, Jesus Christ" (p. 244), and recalls that "The common priesthood of all who form the people of God is one of the rediscoveries of the Reformation" (p. 246), and goes back to the New Testament *laos* to support this view. Christ came to fulfill the law and the law is replaced by the Gospel. Schwarz cites the Augsburg Confession which states that the church "is the assembly of all believers among whom the Gospel is preached in its purity and the holy sacraments are administered according to the Gospel" (p. 274).

On the occasion of the 400th anniversary since the original publication of the correspondence between the Tübingen Theologians and Patriarch Jeremiah II of Constantinople on the Augsburg Confession and the 500th anniversary of Martin Luther's birth, it is not inappropriate for readers of this journal to examine Hans Schwarz's *The Christian Church*, which confesses that "The church is a community of people that transcends the visible boundaries of an institution and of space and time" (p. 300), and rediscovers those areas in which there are common grounds of agreement as well as those in which there is still disagreement. Even though Hans Schwarz is no Jaroslav Pelikan, his contribution deserves the attention of non-Lutherans.

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Contemporary Moral Issues Facing the Orthodox Christian. By Stanley S. Harakas. Minneapolis: Light and Life Publishing Co., 1982. Pp. 185. Paper.

The age in which we live presents us with many moral dilemmas unknown to preceding generations. Issues as varied and as complex as our involvement in the ecumenical movement, embryo fertilization outside the womb, the arms race, ecology, the energy crisis, and euthanasia, to name but a few, beg a response along the lines of genuine Orthodox tradition.

The rich tradition of the Orthodox Church is deposited in many of her treasures—the writings of the Fathers, her liturgy, her canons, her doctrines, and the many expressions of her spirituality. In her zeal, however, to preserve this tradition as it has been handed down from each preceding generation, the Orthodox Church has, to a great extent, retained it in its original forms of expression. Furthermore, several centuries separate our era from that of the great synods of the Undivided Church. Since then, with the exception of those synods convened to deal with

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number of books and articles within the past five years or so.

Father Chrysostomos is perhaps the most academically qualified spokesman for the small number of Greek Orthodox who adhere to the Julian (Old) Calendar in America. His writings and views show and uncompromising dedication to what these Orthodox zealots call 'traditionalism.' And while this witness has at times become rather absurd, immoderate, and extreme in some circles, Father Chrysostomos has remained a sober, moderate, unpolemical, and brilliant spokesman for these traditionalists. Tempering his strong traditionalism with an awareness of the oneness of Orthodoxy, he has provided all of us with some stark and admirable standards against which to measure our spiritual and theological laxity. He has done this with charity and an obviously sincere concern for all Orthodox Christians.

The present book perfectly expresses the value of a witness like that of Father Chrysostomos. To his translation of the sometimes venomous and stikingly blunt essay on Roman Catholicism by the eminent Greek iconographer, Photios Kontoglou, Father Chrysostomos appends his own assessment of the historical road that led to the separation of the two Churches. Whereas Kontoglou, in his "What Orthodoxy Is and What Papism Is," relentlessly assails the Latin mentality, Father Chrysostomos points out that much that happened in the West happened because of historical realities that separated Christians in the West from their Byzantine roots—being more victims than villains.

What this book does so beautifully is this: it leaves, through Kontoglou's harsh words, no doubt that there is far more to be resolved in the Orthodox-Roman Catholic debate than many modern ecumenists would wish to believe. It leaves us with some sober views of how far the East is from the West. But also, through Father Chrysostomos' words, the book calls the West to a deeper understanding of its past, in an historical and theological comparison of the Eastern and Western traditions that is simple, compelling, and inviting. In short, he has produced a good missionary work—a truly ecumenical call from the Mother Church of Christianity to its ecclesiastical children.

A book which is both a jibe and an invitation is a real accomplishment. Father Chrysostomos' book is just that: an accomplishment. This is an important work by an increasingly important Orthodox thinker.

Thomas C. Brecht
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The De Anima of Alexander of Aphrodisias: A Translation and Commentary. By Athanasios P. Fotinis. University Press of America, 1979. Pp. iv + 344.

A. P. Fotinis has made available to the English speaking public a useful translation of Alexander's influential and important treatise on the soul (with omissions of certain sections listed in p. ii). He has provided his own sectional headings and sub-divisions not otherwise in the text to guide the interested reader through the complex development of the discussion. Fotinis' labors deserve praise as he had to start from scratch, with no model to follow save Moreux's French translation of the "*De Intellectu*." It is indeed rather curious that Alexander's work, despite its intrinsic value and historical importance, was never translated before in any modern language. The earliest one is the Arabic version of Ishac ben Honein in 910 (p. i). Fotinis' work has come to fill a real gap with his translation and commentary on this influential treatise. The significance of Alexander's views as well as his reliable interpretation of Aristotle were recognized in the Middle Ages when a number of thinkers argued against his views on the mortality of the soul. Renaissance philosophers, chiefly Zambarella and Pomponazzi, turned to his writings to rediscover there a more authentic Aristotelianism.

It should be clear, as Fotinis tries to show, that Alexander's objectives go beyond the task of defending or recasting Aristotle's doctrines. To gain a fuller view of his philosophical work, one should try to bear in mind the lively and often bitter controversies throughout the Hellenistic period over the diverse theories of the soul inherited from the philosophers of the classical times. They were fully developed theories owing their validity to the force of rational argument and an appeal to theories of nature, often irreconcilable. In this respect Plato and Aristotle are the great landmarks. But once the Stoic view of the soul gained and attracted adherents, a movement that was paralleled by a comparable acceptance of Epicurus' conception of the soul, the later peripatetics were compelled to undertake the critical refinement of Aristotle's own views as well as defend the respectability of the peripatetic tradition.

It is against this background that the purpose of Alexander's treatise is best understood, i.e., as a rebuttal of theses and arguments, Platonic, Stoic and Epicurean, proposing that the soul can be a self-sustaining entity, the outcome of unqualified matter of a composition of material components. That the controversy in antiquity was more than idle debate among defenders of different doctrines for the display of dialectical skills, should be clear from the opening remarks of the treatise. In the "Preface," Alexander draws attention to the command of the Pythian oracle that as reflective beings we must meet the prescription of "Know thyself." Having acknowledged the divine source of the quest, he proceeds to say: "If therefore we wish to be faithful to the divine command, and thus live our lives in accord with nature, we must first gain a proper understanding of the soul by coming to know what sort of reality it is."

Fotinis divides the treatise into three parts. The first deals with the

nature, definition and the parts of soul. It is here the reader will find much of the refutative argument against the Stoics and others. Part two discusses the irrational soul and its powers: the nutritive functions, the five senses, common sense, imagination, desire and appetite. The part most attractive to philosophers and historians of ideas is part three which deals with the rational soul and the nature and powers of the intellect. The remainder of the volume (pp. 154-339) consists of Fotinis' commentary and follows closely the original in the discussion of topics.

One of the main features of Fotinis' commentary is his extensive discussion of the refutation of the Stoic view of soul, and with special attention to the role of imagination and the desires. He makes the point that the Stoic views influenced Alexander and enticed him to modify the respective peripatetic doctrines, although no comparable influence can be detected in the treatment of the appetitive part of the soul. Yet Fotinis' discussion on the extent of such an influence falls short of offering a critical exposition of issues and arguments. His difficulty over this issue surfaces quite sharply in the disparate statements Fotinis makes on the subject of influence. For instance, he points out that "the Stoic theory of imagination is severely criticized by Alexander (p. 268), yet on the next page we read that "nevertheless, some influence is evident in Alexander's use of Stoic terminology." Probably the part of Fotinis' analysis that is bound to invite rather serious reservations is the one on the intellective soul and its operations. The interpretation he offers makes Alexander a Platonizing Aristotelian and more so than the extant texts allow. This rather bold thesis explains Fotinis' agreement with G. Movia and A.H. Armstrong in holding the view that with Alexander *nous poiētikos* becomes transcendent *nous*, a thesis that influenced Plotinus. This is an interesting suggestion but it requires far more support and argumentation than Fotinis has provided.

The need for further elaboration of these points, other revisions and much needed corrections seem to advocate the undertaking of a new edition of Fotinis' ambitious work. A number of serious misprints mar the text (pp. 46, 78, 102, 107, 190, 270). The translation itself suffers from occasional infelicities, particularly when the same passage is rendered literally as well as by way of heavy paraphrasing. Hopefully a revised edition will be expanded to include important bibliographical items now left out, as in the case of works by Ph. Merlan, C. Bazan, and P. L. Donini. An equally important omission is the absence of any reference to the textual editions and commentaries by such leading authorities as Hicks and Ross. Finally, a glossary of Greek terms and indices would add much to the usefulness of Fotinis' commendable effort to make Alexander's philosophy and place in the history of Western thought better known.

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The Death Rituals of Rural Greece. By Loring M. Danforth. Photography by Alexander Tsiaras. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1982. Pp. ix + 169. 31 plates. \$30.00 cloth.

This powerful and emotionally compelling book, illustrated by dramatic photographs that accelerate the emotions, is an interpretative anthropological study. Its purpose is to examine the manner in which the death rituals of rural Greece mediate between life and death. Danforth examines death rituals as rites of passage; funeral laments and their imagery and metaphors; rites of exhumation, and the way death rituals enable the bereaved to continue a relationship with the departed.

The author's work at Potamia, a village twenty-five miles to the southwest of Mount Olympus in northern Thessaly, confirms what anthropologists and others have observed that "funeral rites, and other rituals as well, strengthen social ties and reinforce the social structure of a group by calling forth feelings of togetherness and social solidarity" (p. 26). The book should be of interest to students of religion, anthropology, folklore, and history. Classicists and students of Greek antiquity will not be surprised to see similarities of rituals and customs, between modern and ancient Greece. Plates such as 1, 2, 18, 19, and 20 will evoke images and rites of ancient Greek drama. The Potamia experience confirms the continuity, albeit transformed in practices, beliefs, laic religiosity, social values, e.g., hospitality, and attitudes towards the living and the dead, including those in *xenitia* (living in foreign lands); continuity in beliefs concerning the fate of the soul and life after death, and in the contradictions that exist between hope and fatalism. Furthermore the book reveals aspects of village life, patterns of reciprocity, obligations, family interactions, and the position of women in a village society.

The book would have profited from a better rendering of certain lament phrases and words. Examples: pp. 58-59, *Savvato vradhy, ten Kyriake osto yioma* should read "From Saturday evening, till Sunday noon" (*yioma*, from *yeuma*, is the mid-day meal) and p. 63, *t'adelphoulia tes*, "her dear brothers," as in p. 64; p. 59, Eleni is not "driven from her home by her mother" but departs of her own free will; p. 3 *pikramenoi* and *pikro* should be translated as "grieved" and "grief," respectively, rather than "bitter" and "bitterness" and pp. 16-17, 59, *antara* (from *anatarazo*) "storm" rather than "mist;" p. 130, *semera nystazo*, why not stay closer to the text and say "today I am sleepy," rather than "today I am tired?"; p. 153 M. Alexiou's "Modern Greek Folklore..." was published in Speros Vryonis, Jr., editor, *The 'Past' in Medieval and Modern Greek Culture*. Malibu, California, Undena Publications, 1978. Furthermore there is some inconsistency in the translation of the possessive pronoun *mou* or *m*, which in modern Greek is used as an endearment. The author does not always translate it (pp. 75-76, 80-81).

Several passages, such as in pp. 42, 49, should be cited as biblical quotes.

Furthermore the book would have been enriched had modern Greek Orthodox theology on death and eschatology been consulted (for example the excellent book of N.P. Basileiadis, *To Mysterion tou Thanatou*. Athens, 1980, or even the old but still valuable monograph of Chrestos Androutsos, *Great Hereafter*, tr. W.E.T. Roberts, Cleveland, Ohio, 1956).

The author rightly emphasizes that death rites, the intensity of mourning and the rite of exhumation exist in rural areas of Greece other than Potamia but with significant variation. The vivid description of bereaved women there, the rich religious rituals and especially the analysis of symbols and metaphors are the strengths of this beautifully produced but expensive book.

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The Double Journey in Saint Gregory of Nyssa: *The Life of Moses*

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THE LIFE OF MOSES is generally considered to be among the most comprehensive and mature presentations of the spiritual teaching of Saint Gregory of Nyssa, the youngest and most brilliant of the three Cappadocian Fathers of the fourth century. It is in this work that the characteristic Gregorian doctrine of *epektasis*, or perpetual progress, is most clearly expressed, and it is this work which Jean Daniélou uses as the framework for his classic treatment of Gregory's spirituality, *Platonisme et Théologie Mystique*.¹ Yet the advantages of using the figure of Moses as a model for Christian perfection seem to be modified somewhat by the exigencies of dealing with the myriad other incidents which occur in the course of the exodus and desert wanderings. Most commentators on the treatise focus almost exclusively on the theophany scenes,² and Daniélou himself admits, "Mais si ces grands sommets se dégagent, les passages de l'un à l'autre sont mal définis, encombrés de développements parasites qui nous obligeront à une discrimination minutieuse."³ He later comments, "C'est même un des caractères déconcertants d'un ouvrage comme la *Vie de Moïse* que des considérations de psychologie spirituelle élémentaire s'y mêlent constamment aux plus hautes spéculations."⁴ It appears then that much of the material in the treatise is little more than "filler," rather pedestrian and conventional allegorizing of the various incidents in the wilderness

¹Jean Daniélou, S. J., *Platonisme et Théologie Mystique: Doctrine Spirituelle de Saint Grégoire de Nyse*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1944, 1954).

²See particularly: George S. Bebis, "Gregory of Nyssa's 'De Vita Moysis': A Philosophical and Theological Analysis," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 12 (1967) 369-93; Everett Ferguson, "God's Infinity and Man's Mutability: Perpetual Progress according to Gregory of Nyssa," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 18 (1973) 59-78; C. W. Macleod, "Allegory and Mysticism in Origen and Gregory of Nyssa," *Journal of Theological Studies*, n. s. 22 (1971) 362-79.

³Daniélou, p. 23.

⁴Daniélou, p. 87.

journey of Israel which adds little or nothing of substance to the doctrine of the treatise. Alternatively, this undifferentiated mass of incident may be regarded as the norm, and the pattern of Moses' spiritual growth considered much less defined: "The stages of Moses' life are a pattern not so much in their order as in their constant going on to new things."⁵

There is, however, another alternative, which is that Gregory was quite aware of what he was doing, and that the various incidents do fit together in an orderly pattern or sequence, or rather in a double pattern. For there are actually two distinct yet interrelated spiritual journeys being described in *The Life of Moses*. One, which we may call the vertical, is that of Moses himself, who represents the pattern of perfection as he ascends ever higher into union with God. The other, the horizontal, is the journey of the people of Israel toward the promised land. It is the complex, shifting interaction between these two journeys, rather than the spiritual experience of Moses alone, which forms the subject matter and provides the shape of *The Life of Moses*. By considering the treatise as a coherent whole with a carefully organized structure, we will be able to discover how this motif of the double journey provides additional insight into Gregory of Nyssa's spiritual teaching.

The treatise is formally divided into two books of four unequal parts. The prologue gives the purpose of the work as responding to a young correspondent's request for instruction about the life of perfection, gives a preliminary explanation of perfection as unending progress, using Philipians 3.13 as a key text, and takes Moses as a model for this life of perfection. The rest of the first book consists of the History, an amplified scriptural paraphrase of the account of Moses in Exodus and Numbers. The second book is the *Theoria*, or spiritual application of the History, followed by a brief conclusion. It is on this second book, which forms the bulk of the treatise, that we will focus our attention.

Gregory begins his analysis by describing the initial development of virtue as a conversion or transformation which is more ethical than strictly religious. In the early sections of Book 2, the key idea is that the beginning of the virtuous life comes about through rational free choice: it is a decision, based on evidence, to choose the good. This is the allegorical significance of the birth of Moses, who as a male child represents "austerity and intensity of virtue" and is therefore threatening to "the tyrant," whereas a "material and passionate disposition" (2.2, p. 55), represented by a female birth, is favorable to the tyrant.⁶ Birth here represents

⁵Everett Ferguson and Abraham J. Malherbe, Introduction to Gregory of Nyssa, *The Life of Moses* (New York, 1978), p. 13. All quotations from the treatise will be from this translation, with references to book, section and page incorporated into the text.

⁶The obvious anti-feminism of this interpretation, a traditional allegory borrowed from

mutability, the experience of continual change endemic to the human condition, which is a crucial teaching throughout the treatise; but Gregory's point, here as elsewhere, is that alteration is either from better to worse or from worse to better, and it is up to each person to choose which direction to take: "We are in some manner our own parents, giving birth to ourselves by our own free choice in accordance with whatever we wish to be" (2.3, pp. 55-56). It is through the rational faculties, presented as the parents of virtue, and free will, both midwife and nurse of newborn virtue, that a positive choice, a change for the better, is made.

Such a perspective might appear rather strange and even vaguely unorthodox when compared, for example, with the position of Gregory's younger contemporary from the West, Augustine. There seems to be little or no sense of being in the grip of original sin and therefore powerless to help oneself, powerless to choose right even when one sees it (cf. Rom. 7.19 ff.). The new birth is not that "from above, . . . of water and the Holy Spirit" (Jn 3.5) which Jesus describes to Nikodemus, but simply the decision to choose the good, a stance apparently more Platonic than Christian. Yet to the Greek Fathers, who were not faced as Augustine was with the questions raised by Pelagius, there is no implication that reason and will are to be understood as purely "natural" faculties, operating independently of divine guidance. Grace is presumed to be available and operative at all times, and any movement toward "the realm of light" (2.4, p. 56) is made only in cooperation with God's ever-present assistance. At the same time, this optimism is tempered by the awareness that this is, after all, only the birth of virtue, the earliest stage of growth; further steps will require a much more explicit recognition of and response to divine revelation. In a sense this entire episode, preceding as it does the vision of the Burning Bush, describes a preparatory, pre-conversion period, during which a receptivity or predisposition for positive revelation is developed.

Characteristic of this stage, though not confined to it, is the limited but generally positive function accorded to profane learning for spiritual development, which Gregory indicates in a number of different figures. The image of the restless waters of worldly existence, "a stream made turbulent by the successive waves of passion" (2.6, p. 56), provides the first opportunity to consider the role of secular studies: as the ark provides protection from the waters' turmoil, so "education in the different disciplines" (2.7, p.56) is conducive to reason and so to virtue. But this

Philo and Origen, should be balanced against the paired figures of Abraham and Sarah as models of virtue in the Prologue (1.11-12, p. 32), and particularly against the unqualified admiration of Gregory for his sister Macrina, depicted as a saint in his *Life of Macrina* and as his spiritual guide in the treatise *On the Soul and the Resurrection*. See Saint Gregory of Nyssa, *Ascetical Works*, trans. Virginia Woods Callahan (Washington D. C., 1967), pp. 161-91, 195-272.

acceptance is not unqualified: the princess of the Egyptians, "rightly perceived as profane philosophy" (2.10, p. 57), rescues and raises the immature child, but must ultimately be set aside as barren and unfruitful; even in the early stages nourishment must be provided by Moses' true mother, image of the Church. Even more critical is the identification of secular learning with the oppressive Egyptian who comes into conflict with "the doctrines of the Fathers" (2.13, p. 58), and is slain by Moses; here Gregory depicts the very real temptation to side with secular studies as the stronger (and more attractive?) option, perhaps a reflection of his own inclination toward worldly success in earlier years. This ambiguity is brought to a climax at the end of the episode when both Jethro and the wicked shepherds represent aspects of secular learning: the emphasis is definitely on the need for discernment to distinguish "profane wisdom" from "the teachers of evil" (2.17, pp. 58-59). Gregory's treatment of this entire question provides an interesting insight into a *modus vivendi* for a Christianity emerging from an era of persecution to take its place in a highly cultured world: he recommends neither outright rejection nor whole-hearted endorsement, but a nuanced response in which profane learning has a necessary but subordinate status. In terms of the quest for perfection, Gregory makes clear at the outset that it cannot take place in isolation from the culture in which one lives.

At the same time, the progression of this initial episode is definitely a movement from engagement to withdrawal. Elements of asceticism had already been suggested in the "great pain" of the child's delivery (2.5, p. 56) and the tears of the baby Moses which led to his discovery (2.9, p. 57; cf. 1.17, p. 33), but the main impetus for seeking solitude is provided by the pair of incidents representing conflict. While the first dispute, between Egyptian and Israelite, symbolized "the fight of idolatry against true religion, of licentiousness against self-control, of injustice against righteousness, of arrogance against humility, and of everything against what is perceived by its opposite" (2.14, p. 58) and demanded active engagement to overcome the foe, the second, between the two Israelites, represents a more subtle and divisive enemy, that of heretical opinion in the Church and of false reasoning within the individual soul. This subversive attack reveals the inadequacy of reason as sole guide for the life of virtue, since reason is itself fallible and prone to deception; hence the necessity of revelation, which in turn requires solitude as its setting:

There would be no occasion for wicked heretical opinions to arise unless erroneous reasonings withstood the truth. If, therefore, we by ourselves are too weak to give the victory to what is righteous, since the bad is stronger in its attacks and rejects the rule of truth, we must flee as quickly as possible (in accordance with the historical example) from the conflict to the greater and higher teaching of the mysteries (2.16, p. 58).

This solitude, like the conflicts themselves, is described both as external, a more contemplative and monastic mode of life "among those of like disposition" (2.18, p. 59), and as interior, with "all the movements of our soul . . . shepherded . . . by the will of guiding reason" (2.18, p. 59). This first episode in the life of virtue, then, moves from the choice of the good to a struggle on behalf of truth, which gives way in turn to solitude where the rule of reason is reconfirmed, and which provides the necessary openness for the revelation to come. However the solitude is not presented as a withdrawal from responsibility or an isolation from others, since the like-minded who share the retirement must be "fed by us" (2.18, p. 59), as Moses cared for his flock. The journey to perfection which Moses represents is never an individualized spirituality, but always includes an apostolic dimension.

The episode of the Burning Bush is of course the first experiential contact of Moses with God. Again the context of purification is stressed as the prerequisite for spiritual vision. Not only does Gregory reiterate that it is "upon us who continue in this quiet and peaceful course of life that the truth will shine" (2.19, p. 59), but Moses must remove his sandals before approaching the bush and hearing the Word. This act is interpreted as the necessary ascetic preparation for contemplative vision: the *pathé*, identified with the skins added after Adam's sin, are removed, showing that a purified soul is needed to comprehend the message of revelation.⁷ In turn the spiritual senses are awakened, as the truth is "illuminating the eyes of our souls with its own rays" (2.19, p. 59).

The theophany itself is very much a *via positiva* experience, God revealed as light and as truth, the first in the context of the bush itself, the second by the revelation of the Divine Name. What is unexpected, but characteristic of Gregory in each of the three great theophanies on Sinai in the treatise, is that the revelation is identified explicitly and repeatedly with the Word made Flesh, the Incarnate Jesus. The revelation encompasses many facets of the Incarnation, but the primary fact is that God is first directly encountered in Christ—i.e., the theocentric vision does not bypass the Christocentric.⁸

The first facet to be noted particularly is that the fullness of divinity is to be found in the human person of Christ. The detail of the thorns foreshadows the note of suffering, but the main emphasis is on the *earthly*

⁷See Daniélou's discussion of this image in this and other works of Gregory on pp. 48-70.

⁸It should be recognized that Gregory's incarnational allegory is not restricted to the traditional opinion of the Eastern Fathers that all the Old Testament theophanies are revelations of the Logos, the Second Person of the Trinity. It focuses not only on the pre-existent Son but on the person of Jesus, divine and human. The message of the New Testament is found hidden in the Old.

nature of the bush (also brought out in the subsequent comparison of its unconsumed state with Mary's virginity). This stress on Jesus as incarnate divinity leads to the second significant fact, that *in Jesus* we learn the mystery of the truth, we obtain an accurate apprehension about Being:

In the same way that Moses on that occasion attained to this knowledge, so now does everyone who, like him, divests himself of the earthly covering and looks to the light shining from the bramble bush, that is, to the Radiance which shines upon us through this thorny flesh and which is (as the Gospel says) the true light and the truth itself (2.26, p. 60).

The entire ontological discussion takes place in an explicitly Incarnational context: Jesus' message is the truth about the Being of God. Jesus lets us see reality as it is—our own contingency but also our participation in God's Being, which alone is self-subsistent. This is revealed not only in the divine name, interpreted traditionally as Being, but in the bush itself, which as unconsumed does not fall victim to the flux and mutability of earthly existence. This stress on the necessity of Christian revelation for a true comprehension of being is of course a continuation of the discussion on the inadequacy of pagan philosophy to reach the fullness of truth (a point which will be developed further at the end of this episode by the interpretation of circumcision as removal of the "fleshly and alien foreskin" of "pagan philosophy's absurd additions" (2.40-41, p. 63) from true doctrine).

Moreover, the revelation is not without a soteriological dimension: the third important element is the identification of Jesus with sinful humanity in the leprous hand and the serpent. Gregory's point is that Jesus took upon himself not human nature in the abstract, but as it actually is, subject to physical and moral corruption. Particularly in the case of the hand, the implication seems to be that human nature itself is transformed, through the Incarnation, into impassibility, the state of glory: "What is mutable and subject to passions was transformed into impassibility through its participation in the immutable" (2.30, p. 61). This seems to stress more the physical aspect of corruption and incorruptibility, while the rod directly concerns itself with the moral aspect, by which Jesus "*was made into sin*" (2.32, p. 62, quoting 2 Cor 5.21) so that we might become (not explicitly stated, but the evident conclusion) the righteousness of God.

What is evident, then, is that Gregory perceives this first important stage in the journey toward perfection as very much bound up with the person of Christ. While this Christocentrism appears to be mainly a matter of intellectual apprehension at this point, a perception of the Word as truth and light, a careful reading shows that there are also elements of participation in the reality of Christ, of "putting on Christ," involved as well. Thus the discussion of Christ's redemptive activity takes place in the context

of Moses' own vocation as liberator: "A person like this becomes able to help others to salvation, to destroy the tyranny which holds power wickedly, and to deliver to freedom everyone held in evil servitude" (2.26, pp. 60-61). Moses' saving activity is thus identified as a reflection of Christ's saving activity. This becomes more evident when we reflect that it is not the bush now but Moses himself (and his rod) who becomes the type of Christ the redeemer in the examples of the leprous hand and the serpent. This sense of vision leading to a shared identity is also suggested by the reference to Exodus 7.1 which immediately follows, out of scriptural sequence, this passage on the leprosy and the serpent: "He who has some insight into these things right away becomes a god to those who resist the truth" (2.35, p. 62). The insight into the reality of God as revealed in Christ is thus a transforming insight, one which allows the recipient to become the presence of Christ for others, and finally to share in Christ's own state of everlasting glory.

The theophany, then, is not presented as simply a detached, individualized contemplation of the divine essence, but as an impetus for action. If the rhythm of the previous episode moved from involvement to withdrawal, the direction of the Burning Bush story is the reverse. The contemplative does not remain in isolation, but is strengthened and energized by his vision to free others:

If . . . he had been strengthened by the illumination of the light and had received such strength and power against his enemies, then, as one who has developed as an athlete by strenuous practice under his trainer, he would boldly and confidently strip for the contest with his opponents. With that rod, the word of faith, in his hand, he would prevail against the Egyptian serpents (2.36, p. 62).

Here the traditional athletic imagery of asceticism is reapplied to apostolic involvement. The road to perfection as charted by Gregory involves the complementary dimensions of contemplation and action, withdrawal and engagement, each rooted and founded in the person of Christ.

This presentation of Moses as the leader who shares the fruits of contemplation and as a figure of the redemptive Christ continues throughout the Exodus account right up to the return to Sinai and the description of the second theophany. When Moses comes to proclaim deliverance to the enslaved Israelites, Gregory makes clear that the power and efficacy of his words depend directly on his contemplative experience: "he who has not equipped himself by this kind of spiritual training to instruct the multitude must not presume to speak among the people" (2.55, pp. 66-67). Likewise, after leading the people out of Egypt, it is Moses' prayerful contact with God that enables him to strengthen the fearful people:

This help will not come unless the heart of the leader speaks with God. Many of those who occupy a position of leadership are concerned only with outward appearance; of those hidden things which are observed only by God they have hardly a thought. But in the case of Moses it was not so. While he exhorted the Israelites to be of good courage, he did cry out, although outwardly making no sound, to God . . . (2.118, p. 82).

The leader, as spiritual guide, must be a person of deep prayer, who at once encourages the people and beseeches God for aid. This redemptive role is not only a consequence of his contemplation, but it is explicitly presented as a reflection of the saving action of Jesus. The outstretched hands of Moses which remove the plagues are identified with those of the crucified Savior, even though to do so Gregory has to readjust the actual scriptural text, since in Exodus the outstretched hands bring rather than remove the plagues (cf. Ex 9.22, 10.12, 11.21):

When Moses stretched forth his hands on the Egyptians' behalf, the frogs were instantly destroyed. . . . You understand, surely, what the figure says to you, and perceive in the lawgiver the true Lawgiver and in his outstretched hands him who stretched forth his hands upon the cross (2.78, p. 72).

This image is repeated twice more in the context of the plagues, both times with an eschatological interpretation suggesting the final salvation of all people, a universalism rooted unequivocally in the redemptive death of Jesus (cf. 2.82,84, p. 73). While the cruciform image is surprisingly not referred to at the crossing of the Red Sea, it does reappear just previous to the arrival at Sinai in the incident of the battle with Amalek. Here Moses is at first presented as the type or image of the Old Law, who remains behind as the people are led by Joshua (= Jesus), but then his raised hands become again the victorious sign of the cross, visible in a spiritual reading of the Law, which enables the Israelites to overcome their adversaries: "For truly, to those who are able to see, the mystery of the cross is especially contemplated in the Law" (2.151, p. 91). While in one sense this last appearance is being used as a justification or explanation of Gregory's strategy throughout the entire treatise, it also continues the redemptive typology, since Moses' upraised arms give the Israelites the power to overcome their enemies.

Yet actually, in these episodes between the first Sinai theophany and the second, particularly the incidents relating the actual journey through the sea and into the desert, relatively little attention is given to the personal spiritual experience of Moses. His appearance as a type of Christ is presented in functional rather than "mystical" terms, as pertaining to

the people's liberation rather than to his own spiritual growth. In fact the focus in these episodes has shifted to the people of Israel as a whole rather than remaining on Moses himself. While this may seem inconsistent, even incoherent, and at best a concession to the necessity of following the biblical text with at least some measure of fidelity, Gregory is actually able to use the experiences of the Israelites to broaden his picture of the preliminary stages of the spiritual journey. In this part of the treatise, the Israel material supplements rather than contrasts with the Moses material. Though distinguished from the people by his leadership role, Moses is also explicitly presented at the conclusion of this part of the work as one of those "who received strength from the food and showed his power in fighting with his enemies and was the victor over his opponents" (2.152, p. 91). Unlike the subsequent episodes, in which Moses' journey is contrasted with that of the Israelites, here the people are contrasted with the Egyptians and presented as a model or paradigm of the Christian. This is even more evident when one notices that all negative details concerning the Israelites, particularly their murmuring and complaints in the Marah, manna and rock episodes (cf. Ex 15.24, 16.2-3, 17.2-7), are omitted completely, and the order of the rock and manna episodes are reversed to provide a better spiritual progression. In this part of the treatise, then, we can look to the experience of the people as a whole to discover Gregory's further teaching on the early stages of the spiritual life.

The first discussion of the situation of the people centers on the increased persecution which comes about in reaction to Moses' initial proclamation of freedom. This situation is likened to the increase in temptation which follows an acceptance of the Gospel: "For many of those who have accepted the word as a liberator from tyranny and have identified themselves with the Gospel are today still threatened by the Adversary with onslaughts of temptations" (2.56, p. 67). It is interesting that Gregory has spiritualized and, despite the communal setting, individualized the message, such that the liberation from tyranny is presented as freedom from sin and the domination of Satan, whereas in the early years of the same century the scriptural story could have been applied to actual persecution for the faith. Thus, the spiritualizing of the content of the message is an adaptation of the original meaning to altered circumstances. Now the persecution does not come from pagan tyrants but from the temptation to adopt purely materialistic standards. Thus, the forced labor of brick-making symbolizes a preoccupation with material pleasures, a combination of earth (material) and water (shapeless, insubstantial). The cyclic process of filling and emptying, of satiety and renewed desire, is made to contrast with the basic image of continual progress on which the entire treatise is predicated. The work of slavery, of sin, is never completed, never accomplished, a Sisyphean round of repetition which ends only in death, while the gift of freedom will allow one to move in the direction of the

Good in unending progress and growth.

Of course, at this initial period, such consequences are not immediately obvious, and some may prefer not to undertake the risks and hardships which freedom entails. Here Gregory does incorporate the murmuring motif, associating it with the initial ambivalence of the newly converted, or perhaps the nearly converted; yet he continues by pointing out that such immaturity, at this stage at least, does not automatically disqualify someone from embarking upon the journey toward perfection, any more than the Israelites' complaints relegated them to permanent slavery:

Some of the weaker ones are beaten to their knees by these misfortunes and say outright that it would have been more useful for them not to have heard the message of freedom than to endure these things for freedom's sake.

The same thing happened when the Israelites, through meanness of spirit, blamed those who proclaimed to them deliverance from servitude. But the Word will not cease at all from leading on toward the Good, even if he who is yet young and immature in understanding should, childlike, be fearful of the strangeness of temptations (2.57-58, p. 67).

This delineation of the two types of response to the Word quickly gives way to a contrast between Israelite and Egyptian as typifying the two responses toward the invitation to new life. Thus, the plagues are given a determinedly moral reading, in which the miraculous occurrences are considered less as objective facts than as subjective responses: "Each man makes his own plagues" (2.86, p. 74). The stream of faith is "fresh and clear" to the faithful (Israelites), but it is "corrupted blood" (2.66, p. 69) to the faithless (Egyptians). As in the case of the birth of Moses, the emphasis is on the free choice of each person as the determining factor of whether the plagues affect them:

We men have in ourselves, in our own nature and by our own choice, the causes of light or darkness, since we place ourselves in whichever sphere we wish to be. . . . Whereas the Hebrews delighted in its light, the Egyptians were insensitive to its gift. In a similar manner, the enlightened life is proposed to all equally, according to their ability. Some continue on in darkness, driven by their evil pursuits to the darkness of wickedness, while others are made radiant by the light of virtue (2.80-81, pp. 72-73).

This use of light/darkness imagery, so central to the fourth Gospel, suggests how closely the moral and intellectual dimensions are related here. For Gregory, as for John, the primary sin which leads to all others is the refusal to know God: the underlying cause of the hardening of the heart

is the hardening of the mind. Thus, Gregory explains the hardening of Pharaoh's heart as the consequence of a prior refusal to acknowledge God, a point already made at the end of the Burning Bush episode when Pharaoh says, "Who is Yahweh, that I should listen to him? I do not know Yahweh" (2.35, p. 62), and glossed here with a quotation from Romans: "Since they refused to see it was rational to acknowledge God, he abandoned them to shameful passions" (2.73, p. 71). Thus, the root problem is blindness, an intellectual failure (which is no less a moral failure for that), a lack of rational order which leads to disorder of the senses and passions, i.e., to the plagues: "his failure to acknowledge God becomes the reason why he is being pulled down into the passionate and dishonorable life" (2.75, p. 71). Thus, the primary problem, despite the apparent emphasis here and elsewhere, is not on the level of sensuality but of rationality. Recognizing God, or knowing first principles, leads to virtue, while the opposite leads to vice. Hence, the confrontation with Pharaoh is intimately connected with the episode of the Burning Bush, both by the questions raised and by the recurrence of the light/darkness imagery. As Moses saw the light and recognized Yahweh as He who Is, so Pharaoh refuses to know Yahweh and is plunged into darkness.

This choice is not restricted to the two principals but is extended to all the people, Israelite and Egyptian, who are in fact distinguished, assigned to one group or the other, precisely by the decision they make. It is significant also that the choice is connected with the rod of Moses, previously identified with Christ. As the instrument of the plagues, understood in Gregory's sense, this typology is still applicable (cf. 2.63, p. 68: "We have probably already sufficiently interpreted the rod"), since Jesus, particularly for John, is the presence which forces people to reveal what spirit they have: he becomes the challenge, the provoker of judgement. Linked with the image of Moses ending the plague with outstretched hands, the figure indicates that Jesus both brings the disease to a crisis (as rod) and heals it (as cruciform). Here also, then, we find Gregory emphasizing the role of Christ in the initial movement toward a life of perfection.

This focus on the role of Christ continues as a predominant theme throughout the episodes which follow. Thus, in the final plague, the death of the firstborn, the blood of the paschal lamb sprinkled on the doorposts represents the blood of Christ which shields the people from "the destroyer." The typological interpretation of the paschal lamb continues in the episode of the passover meal, where an evident eucharistic meaning is intended: "For Scripture requires that the body of the lamb, whose blood was displayed on the doors and separated the people from the destroyer of the firstborn, become our food" (2.102, p. 78). Yet the main part of the interpretation focuses on the food as Word rather than Sacrament (cf. a similar conjunction in the two sections of the Bread of Life discourse in John 6), in which the edible portion represents those parts of scripture

readily comprehensible, and the portion consigned to the fire those parts known only by (and through) the Holy Spirit. In the context of the spiritual journey, it is perhaps noteworthy that the clothing, the externals, represents mainly the human input, the part of effort (shoes as austerity vs. the thorns of sin; belt as prudence vs. sensual enjoyment), while the divine gift of faith, given in Jesus, is represented by the food, the interior strength and nourishment which makes the journey possible. Again, the two work in conjunction, but each has its own contribution to make.

After the (by now) traditional allegory of spoiling the Egyptians as adapting secular culture to religious purposes, the actual beginning of the exodus is presented as a clear model of the first steps of the spiritual journey. The period of leaving slavery is again seen as a time of testing and temptation: after renouncing worldly ways, the person goes through a time when "the assaults of temptations in some way pursue them and bring on distress and fears and threats of death" (2.117, p. 81). Saved by the presence of the Spirit, which comes, adapted to their level of receptivity, as a cloud, the people pass through the water and are freed from bondage. Like virtually all preceding Christian commentators, Gregory understands this passage through the sea as an image of baptism, but by virtue of a double allegory, he enables the reader to appreciate the meaning of the sacramental mystery. In one figure, only "the various passions of the soul by which man is enslaved" (2.122, p. 83), represented by the Egyptian soldiers, are destroyed, and the Israelites (= the saved soul) make it through safely; in the other, the horses, identified with a "passion for pleasures," drag the three parts of the soul (the "viziers" on the chariot) to destruction (2.122-23, p. 83). In this double perspective, both options, life and death, salvation and destruction, are presented virtually simultaneously. Gregory's point is that baptism, to be efficacious, must have, as its underlying reality, the rejection, or death, of sinful impulses and resultant acts. A failure to kill off the vices of the old life will negate or block the grace of the sacrament. Again, Gregory stresses the complex interaction of human effort and divine initiative: he implies that only a certain "kind of people" (2.125, p. 83) should be presented for baptism—i.e., those who have demonstrated a commitment to moral change, and who themselves "must put to death in the water the whole phalanx of evil" (2.125, p. 84); yet he later maintains that it is the function of the "mystical water" itself "to destroy evil tyrants" (2.129, p. 85): that is, that the action of God is paramount. The possibility that a person could remain unchanged by baptism presumes both the real need for God's help and the significance of human decision and commitment, not in opposition to, but in cooperation with the power of God. In any event, the stress on the intellectual dimension of conversion previously is complemented here by the emphasis on moral purification as a crucial dimension of the passage from slavery to freedom.

The travel through the desert which follows is marked by a progressively deepened relationship with Christ. The difficulties of the early post-conversion period, when the seeker has left behind the pleasures of the flesh and not yet become attuned to those of the spirit, are aptly represented by the bitter waters of Marah, which are sweetened by the wood of the cross:

If the wood be thrown into the water, that is, if one receives the mystery of the resurrection which had its beginning with the wood (you, of course, understand the "cross" when you hear "wood"), then the virtuous life, being sweetened by the hope of things to come, becomes sweeter and more pleasant than all the sweetness that tickles the senses with pleasure (2.132, p. 86).

At this stage, the promise of the future resurrection makes present trials bearable, but that promise comes only through the redemptive death of Christ. This consolation leads in turn to the sweetness and nourishment of the scriptures, represented by the oasis of springs and date palms, and then to the water from the rock, in which the contact with Christ is presented as more immediate and intimate: after receiving the Word, not future resurrection but present intimacy becomes the mode of relationship:

For the rock, as the Apostle says, is Christ, who is moistureless and resistant to unbelievers, but if one should employ the rod of faith, he becomes drink to those who are thirsty and flows into those who receive him, for he says, "I and my Father shall come to him and make our home with him" (2.136, p. 87).

This progressive sequence culminates, in Gregory's revised order, in the gift of the manna: when the food taken from Egypt is gone, it is replaced by the bread from heaven; the allegory is clear: when one no longer relies on the world for sustenance, he is nourished by God Himself. Though the distinction may not have been worked out yet, Gregory's discussion of the manna is a perfect example of the four-fold interpretation of scripture. The literal level is, of course, the Old Testament story itself; the typological level, already found in chapter 6 of John's Gospel, sees the bread from heaven as an image of Christ, who, like the manna, is not incorporeal, but was not produced in the usual fashion: "Neither ploughing nor sowing produced the body of this bread, but the earth which remained unchanged was found full of this divine food, of which the hungry partake. This miracle teaches in anticipation the mystery of the Virgin" (2.139, p. 88). Likewise, the varied taste of the manna (a traditional though "non-scriptural" motif) is like Christ who is received according to the capacity of the receiver. The moral or tropological reading focuses on the fact that

only one day's supply of manna can be gathered, which becomes a witness against gluttony and "the insatiable greed of those always hoarding surplus" (2.143, p. 89). Here the manna seems to represent not Christ but material possessions, but may be a warning against treating spiritual goods in a carnal fashion. This, in turn, gives way to the anagogical or eschatological interpretation, according to which all excess "becomes on the next day—that is, in the future life—a worm to the person who hoards it" (2.143, p. 89). This level is also used to explain why the manna gathered on the Day of Preparation carries over to the Sabbath: the latter represents eternal life, the former represents this life, and only if "what is stored up during it is incorruptible" (2.146, p. 89) will it be of any value for the Sabbath.

While this focus on the reception of Christ and the anticipation of eternity might appear to mark some sort of climax, the episode of the war with Amalek which immediately precedes arrival at Sinai makes clear that the spiritual conflict does not lessen; in one sense it becomes more intense, since it demands greater responsibility. The Israelites are now strong enough to be able to fight the enemy themselves, a sign of spiritual growth. Still, as we have already seen, it is under the leadership of Joshua, or Jesus, that the battle is waged. Again, the combination of personal responsibility and reliance on Christ is presented as a hallmark of Gregory's thought.

The second great theophany takes place at the return to Sinai when Moses ascends the mountain to receive the Law. Here, the focus shifts back from the people as a whole to Moses himself, but Gregory makes very clear that all the experiences of the people recounted in previous episodes were necessary prerequisites for the ascent:

Whoever looks to Moses and the cloud, . . . who has been purified by crossing the water, who has put the foreigner to death and separated himself from the foreigner, who has tasted the waters of Marah (that is, the life removed far from pleasures) which, although appearing bitter and unpleasant at first to those tasting it, offers a sweet sensation to those accepting the wood, who has then delighted in the beauties of the palm trees and springs (which were those who preached the Gospel), who were filled with the living water which is the rock, who received the heavenly bread, who has played the man against the foreigners, and for whom the outstretched hands of the lawgiver became the cause of victory foreshadowing the mystery of the cross, he it is who then advances to the contemplation of the transcendent nature (2.153, p. 92).

While there is a literal inconsistency here, since the people, to whom these events happened, do not in fact ascend the mountain with Moses, the "spiritual sense" is that for the reader, who is encouraged to follow Moses, these events are a necessary preparation. For this first half of the *Theoria*, then, the experiences of Moses and those of the Israelites are synthesized

and together form the paradigm for the journey toward perfection which Gregory presents. In the second half of the *Theoria* this relationship will alter radically, as the goal and direction of the people's journey is sharply distinguished from and contrasted with that of Moses. At this point, however, the distinction made is mainly a practical one. Moses is the intermediary who represents the people and shares the divine revelation with them.

The actual theophany centers on the paradox of seeing God in darkness, thus distinguishing it from the vision of the Burning Bush, where God was encountered in the light. The movement is from the moral darkness of the unconverted to the enlightenment of the first encounter to the new darkness of an awareness of the incomprehensibility of God. The symbolism depends of course on the basis of comparison. In contrast to the rest of reality, and particularly to moral evil, God is encountered as light, but when what is known of Him is compared to what is unknown (and unknowable), he is encountered in darkness: "this is the seeing that consists in not seeing, because that which is sought transcends all knowledge, being separated on all sides by incomprehensibility as by a kind of darkness" (2.163, p. 95). Thus the darkness is specifically identified with divine incomprehensibility, yet there is definitely a noetic dimension, which is not simply an intellectual recognition of God's infinity but an experiential awareness of it, and therefore an experiential contact with God Himself, as expressed in the phrases "it [the mind] sees God"; "This is the true knowledge"; "this is the seeing"; "luminous darkness" (2.163, p. 95). These two dimensions, seeing and not seeing, have to be kept in fruitful tension if the apophatic experience is not to degenerate into a sort of refined agnosticism. Thus, as in the Burning Bush scene, the "vision" is complemented by the Word, in this case the decalogue and particularly the first commandment, the prohibition of graven images: idolatry is identified with even any conceptualization of God, any attempt to reduce the divine infinity to the dimensions of the human understanding:

The divine word at the beginning forbids that the Divine be likened to any of the things known by men, since every concept which comes from some comprehensible image by an approximate understanding and by guessing at the divine nature constitutes an idol of God and does not proclaim God (2.165, pp. 95-96).

At the same time Gregory balances this negative theology with a very affirmative interpretation of the value of created reality as revelatory, of its capacity to function as a sign of God's wisdom and glory: "For the wonderful harmony of the heavens proclaims the wisdom which shines forth in the creation and sets forth the great glory of God through the things which are seen, in keeping with the statement, *The heavens declare the glory of God*" (2.168, p.96). Like the trumpets which grew louder

as Moses approached the mountain, the visible world summons beyond itself into the cloud.

This fruitful tension between visible and invisible, finite and infinite, is of course most deeply expressed in the mystery of Christ, in whom human and divine, visible and invisible, finite and infinite are united. As with the Burning Bush, the ultimate revelation of this theophany is for Gregory a revelation of Christ. This ascent begins and ends with a Christocentric focus. The increasing volume of the trumpets is first analogized to the growing clarity in scripture of the doctrine of the Incarnation:

The Law and the Prophets trumpeted the divine mystery of the incarnation, but the first sounds were too weak to strike the disobedient ear. . . . As the trumpets came closer, according to the text, they became louder. The last sounds, which came through the preaching of the Gospels, struck their ears . . . (2.159, pp. 93-94).

The reality of the God-man functions both as a summons to the divine-human encounter of others, and becomes clearer and stronger as one draws nearer to God. Clearly, for Gregory, the knowledge of Christ is not a "stage" to be transcended in ascending to a "theocentric" contemplation. In fact, the culmination of this theophany is precisely a vision of the heavenly tabernacle, which is identified with the Logos, with Christ both uncreated and created:

This tabernacle would be *Christ who is the power and the wisdom of God*, who in his own nature was not made with hands, yet capable of being made when it became necessary for this tabernacle to be erected among us. Thus the same tabernacle is in a way both unfashioned and fashioned, uncreated in preexistence but created in having received this material composition (2.174, p. 98).

Moreover, as "the power which encompasses the universe, in which lives *the fullness of divinity*, the common protector of all, who encompasses everything within himself" (2.177, p. 99), the Word is the source of all created reality, so that the vision of the tabernacle is at the same time a vision of the entire universe, particularly the heavenly universe, which is in its essence contained in the Word through whom it receives existence: "the Apostle . . . says somewhere with reference to the Only Begotten, whom we have perceived in place of the tabernacle, that *in him were created all things, everything visible and everything invisible, Thrones, Dominations, Sovereignities, Powers*, or forces" (2.179, pp. 99-100). Though the analogous nature of all titles predicated of God is stressed, in accord with the teaching of the previous sections, the appropriateness

of the tabernacle image is defended in that Christ encompasses both the fullness of divinity (=the Holy of Holies) and the entire creation (as repository and exemplar of the divine ideas). Moreover, it is not just the pre-existent Logos whom Moses encounters, but the glorified Jesus, since the curtain of the tabernacle is allegorized as the flesh of Christ (cf. Heb 11.20), the mercy seat as the role of the redeemer (as in Rom 3.25), and the red skin and woven hair as signs of the Passion. Thus the revelation is for Gregory a specifically Christian one, not simply the divine incomprehensibility but the presence of that incomprehensibility in human form, in the world of men. In fact, Gregory relates the image to the prologue of John's Gospel, where the Word become flesh is literally said to have pitched his tent, his tabernacle, amongst the people: "This one is the Only Begotten God, who encompasses everything in himself but who also pitched his own tabernacle among us" (2.175, pp. 98-99).

As in the previous theophany, vision is intimately linked with action. The heavenly sanctuary is not only to be contemplated but to be reproduced, for if on one level the earthly tabernacle is the incarnate Jesus, on another level it is the Church, the continued presence of Christ in and for the world (cf. 2.184, p. 101). This stress on service is likewise brought out in the discussion of the allegorical significance of the various priestly garments. For example, the alternation of golden bells and pomegranates on the hem of the tunic represents the combination of faith "pure and loud in the preaching of the holy Trinity" (2.192, p. 104) and the outwardly unpleasant but inwardly sweet fruit of the ascetic life. Likewise, the straps which hold the ornaments on connect heart and arm, contemplation and action (2.200, p. 106).

The return of Moses to the base of the mountain is, of course, marked by the idolatry of the golden calf and the breaking of the law. This becomes for Gregory a parallel to the original fall, so that the first writing of the Law is compared to its presence in unfallen human nature, while the second table, written on material substance, is equated with the Incarnation, through which true human nature is restored:

the true Lawgiver, of whom Moses was a type, cut the tables of human nature for himself from our earth. It was not marriage which produced for him his "God-receiving" flesh, but he became the stone-cutter of his own flesh, which was carved by the divine finger, . . . When this took place, our nature regained its unbroken character, becoming immortal through the letters written by his finger (2.216, pp. 110-11).

Here, again, the Christocentric perspective of Gregory is evident, for not only the tablets of the Law but Moses himself is seen as a type of Christ:

Moses was transformed to such a degree of glory that the mortal eye

could not behold him. . . . For when the restorer of our broken nature (you no doubt perceive in him the one who healed our brokenness) had restored the broken table of our nature to its original beauty—doing this by the finger of God, as I said—the eyes of the unworthy could no longer behold him (2.217, p. 111).

Here is certainly one of the most significant, yet also most perplexing, passages of the entire treatise. The radiant Moses is identified with the glorified Christ, and, consequently, with the original beauty of human nature: through the Incarnation, passion and resurrection of Christ, that nature is restored to wholeness. Yet no attempt is made to extend this experience of restoration to the Israelites: whereas Moses shares in the glory of Christ, of a renewed nature, those who have remained below merely look upon that glory, and are scarcely able to do that. This is all the more surprising in that the emphasis of the passage from 2 Corinthians on which Gregory is basing his interpretation is the *locus classicus* for the transformation of the soul “into his likeness from one degree of glory to another” (2 Cor 3.18). Here we find the beginning of a distinction between Moses, who “becomes” Christ, and the people, who only look upon that glory but do not participate in it, who settle for a much less intense relationship with God based on external authority rather than personal experience. This difference will be symbolized by the different directions taken by Moses and the people in the second half of the treatise. But before developing this theme of divergence in more detail, Gregory must present the third and most significant of the Sinai theophanies.

This encounter with God precedes, of course, the descent just recounted, so Gregory must retrace his, or Moses', steps. The starting point of this key episode is the apparent contradiction that Moses, who had already seen God face-to-face according to the account in Exodus 33.11, now asks to see Him as if for the first time. This paradox leads to the notion of *epektasis*, or continued progress, as perfection, the teaching proposed in a theoretical way in the Prologue and now examined in detail by considering the experience of Moses. Gregory first shows that the entire passage must be understood in a sense other than the literal, since God who is infinite and incorruptible could not have a back (or a face), which implies dimension, and therefore limitation, and corporeality, and, therefore, composition, decomposition and corruptibility. Understood spiritually, then, Moses' request exemplifies the fact that there is no limit to man's ascent to God. Man's openness to Being, to knowledge and to love, is infinite: he will never reach the point where he is filled, satiated, for to be filled to his present capacity is to be expanded to receive more, and since God is infinite, eternity is an everlasting progress in knowing and loving God. Each step toward God is both a fulfillment and a new beginning. Moses has reached the summit only in the sense that he recognizes

the unlimited, ungraspable reality of God, and the dynamism of the soul in relation to God, which has been operative all along and will continue to carry Moses ever deeper into the divine life.

But this explanation of Moses' vision is incomplete, for Gregory goes on to say that it is only "in the rock" that the seeker progresses toward God. As with the first two theophanies, so here the relationship to God is possible only in Christ, who is the rock upon which Moses stands and in which he hides:

if someone, as the Psalmist says, should pull his feet up from the mud of the pit and plant them upon the rock (the rock is Christ who is absolute virtue), then the more *steadfast and unmoveable* (according to the advice of Paul) he becomes in the Good the faster he completes the course. It is like using the standing still as if it were a wing while the heart flies upward through its stability in the good (2.244, pp. 117-18).

The paradox is that by remaining steadfast in Christ, one is drawn into union with God, for it is only "in Christ" that the dynamism of everlasting progress takes place. This declaration of the centrality of Christ is reinforced by a litany of scriptural phrases referring to the goal of human longing, beginning and ending with the tabernacle image already used in the second theophany, all of which are identified with Christ: "For, since Christ is understood by Paul as the rock, all hope of good things is believed to be in Christ, in whom we have learned all the treasures of good things to be. He who finds any good finds it in Christ who contains all good" (2.248, p. 118). He is the beginning and end, alpha and omega, source, way and goal, "the creative power of what exists, the *only begotten God*, by whom *all things were made*, who is also 'place' for those who run, who is, according to his own words, the 'way' of the course, and who is 'rock' to those who are well established and 'house' to those who are resting" (2.249, p. 119). This upsurge of devotional expression, certainly the most exultant, even lyrical, passage of the entire treatise, has the effect of revealing the secret which was to some degree concealed up to this point: that it is through, with, and in Christ that one becomes a sharer in the mystery of the divine life. While the earlier theophanies were principally revelations of the nature of God, here, the primary awareness is of participation in that reality, which is, after all, the only absolute reality there is.

Yet this contemplative elevation is no more equated here than in the earlier theophanies with a withdrawal into a private heaven, or remaining in blissful solitude. In fact, more forcefully than ever before it is emphasized that contemplative experience must lead to apostolic commitment, or rather that these are two dimensions of the same reality, for seeing the back

of God is taken to mean following God, which means following Christ:

When the Lord who spoke to Moses came to fulfill his own law, he likewise gave a clear explanation to his disciples, laying bare the meaning of what had previously been said in a figure, when he said, *If anyone wants to be a follower of mine*, and not "If any man will go before me." And to the one asking about eternal life he proposes the same thing, for he says, *Come, follow me*. Now he who follows sees the back (2.251, p. 119).

Thus, the whole journey is summed up as taking the way that Jesus took, sharing in his mission, in his death and resurrection, so as to share in his union with the Father.

The meaning of this conformation to Christ is immediately apparent in the following episode, in which Moses is beset by the envious. He is not only impervious to this temptation himself, but his response is one not of self-defense but of seeking mercy for the offenders. This response is explicitly said to be a consequence of following "his leader" (2.260, p. 121), and particularly of having put on Christ, "For Scripture says *let your armor be the Lord Jesus*" (2.262, p. 122). This forgiveness of enemies is clearly according to the pattern of Jesus' prayer on behalf of his persecutors during the Passion. This focus on the Passion continues more explicitly in the two episodes which follow, where the symbols of the bunch of grapes and the brazen serpent become types of Christ as promise of future salvation and as agent of present healing.

But even more significant than these traditional types of Christ is the clear distinction which Gregory now makes between Moses and the people, who "had not yet learned to keep in step with Moses' greatness" (2.271, p. 124). Thus, Moses sends out the spies to the promised land to counteract the attractiveness of Egypt, the old life of the flesh, by a foreshadowing of the promised inheritance: it becomes a concrete alternative to Egypt which Moses himself does not need, but which the people do, and which even then they don't appreciate. While Moses "looked to the bunch of grapes which for our sake was suspended and shed blood, and . . . by the wood prepared water to gush from the rock again for them" (2.270, pp. 123-24), the people "were still drawn down to the slavish passions and were inclined to the Egyptian pleasures" (2.271, p. 124) and were, therefore, bitten by the serpents, images of sin. Even after their cure, desire is succeeded by arrogance, a kind of prideful self-confidence which is presented as a sort of parody of the Mosaic ascent:

when one arrogantly exalts himself, he ends by falling even below the earth. And perhaps, if viewed through these events, arrogance might not unreasonably be defined as a downward ascent. . . . Those who

elevate themselves above others in some way go downward, as the earth opens a chasm for them (2. 280-81, p. 126).

The overall import of these sections is that, while the Israelites are rescued from their various predicaments, they are really making no progress in the Mosaic sense. While the ideal may be to "keep in step with Moses' greatness," to share in the life of perfection represented by the ascent of Sinai, the practical conclusion seems to be that the mass of believers are simply not going to achieve such heights. Though their preparation was the same, they have chosen a less demanding route and a less exalted goal. This is particularly evident in the passage on the Royal Way, which is given a completely moral interpretation with no reference, as in the last theophany, to Christ as the Way. Keeping to the royal highway is defined as adherence to the Aristotelian mean: the end of the journey is to be achieved by straying neither to left or right, which is hardly the same image of the journey as ascending to the top of the mountain. This rather "pedestrian" advice is in no sense a preparation for the Mosaic experience of God, but is designed rather to lead safely to the Promised Land, which Moses himself will not enter.

The two final episodes of the Israelite journey, those of Balaam and the Midianite women, are both in some sense exempla, one positive and the other negative, of this doctrine of moderation. Balaam is unable to curse the Israelites because of their virtuous lives and "moderate habits" (2.296, p. 130), while the seductive wiles of the foreign women make the Israelites like irrational animals who "did not hide their excess but adorned themselves with the dishonor of passion" (2.302, p. 132). It is not very reassuring that our final view of the Israelites finds them in the clutches of lust, a recurrent temptation which they never definitively overcome. In fact, the comparison of this passion to a plague (2.304, p. 132) is a disconcerting reminder of how perilously close they are to returning to Egypt.

In obvious contrast to the disorder of the people is the final picture of Moses. After once again defining perfection as the continual progress in virtue, Gregory summarizes the entirety of Moses' life, and thus of the treatise, and concludes by making explicit the contrast between his journey and goal and that of the people: "After all these things he went to the mountain of rest. He did not set foot on the land below for which the people were longing by reason of the promise. He who preferred to live by what flowed from above no longer tasted earthly food" (2.313, p. 314). There is absolutely no suggestion in Gregory that Moses was deprived of entry into Canaan for any fault. Rather, as the servant of God whose only goal is to do God's will, he is beyond the need for a hope of reward as a motivation for virtue. This is explained in the conclusion, where the servant, as in John 15, has become the friend:

This is true perfection: not to avoid a wicked life because like slaves we servilely fear punishment, nor to do good because we hope for rewards, as if cashing in on the virtuous life by some business-like and contractual arrangement. On the contrary, disregarding all those things for which we hope and which have been reserved by promise, we regard falling from God's friendship as the only thing dreadful and we consider becoming God's friend the only thing worthy of honor and desire. This, as I have said, is the perfection of life (2.320, p. 137).

Here the divergence which was operative throughout the second half of the treatise is quite evident: "those things for which we hope and which have been reserved by promise" obviously refers to the Promised Land as the image of a hoped-for reward, which is a motive for virtue but not a motive for perfection.⁹ The Promised Land is not a goal for those who have risen above the sensuous, the imaginative, the discursive; it is rather something concrete and specific to aim toward for those, like the Israelites in the journey from Sinai, who were caught in a never-ending struggle with the passions. For Moses, in contrast, whose goal is nothing other than God Himself, the final end, once again on a mountain, is really no end at all: it is "an end which is not covered by a tomb" (2.317, p. 136). This image of death and resurrection leads to a final description of Moses' identity as being the image of God, or rather being "in the image":

For he who has truly come to be in the image of God and who has in no way turned aside from the divine character bears in himself its distinguishing marks and shows in all things his conformity to the archetype; he beautifies his own soul with what is incorruptible, unchangeable, and shares in no evil at all (2.318, p. 136).

This definition is a summary of all the teaching, particularly all the Christocentric teaching, which has preceded it. Moses is, finally, "in Christ," the archetype of each person and the perfect image of God.

In these last pages the reader is clearly encouraged to find in Moses' life as interpreted by Gregory not a singular perfection but a model for his own spiritual journey. We too are encouraged to "have but one purpose in life: to be called servants of God by virtue of the lives we live" (2.315, p. 135). Gregory summarizes his purpose in composing the treatise as "tracing in outline like a pattern of beauty the life of the great Moses so that each one of us might copy the image of the beauty which has been

⁹This distinction of slaves, mercenaries and sons, distinguished by the respective motivations of fear, hope of gain and disinterested love, is first found in Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*, 4.6, 7.2, 12, and becomes very influential through its use in the Preface to the *Long Rules* of Gregory's brother Saint Basil, the key text of Christian monasticism in the East.

shown to us by imitating his way of life" (2.319, p. 136). He encourages his reader to put into practice in his own life the lessons of Moses' life: "it is time for you, noble friend, to look to that example and, by transferring to your own life what is contemplated through spiritual interpretation of the things spoken literally, to be known by God and to become his friend" (2.320, p. 137).

In our examination of *The Life of Moses* as a whole, we have found a degree of coherence and thematic unity much greater than commonly presumed by those who tended to abstract the Moses material from the rest of the treatise. We discovered a shifting relationship between the image of the spiritual journey as it was applied to Moses and to Israel, in which the two were complementary in the earlier sections leading up to Sinai, and divergent in the sections which followed Moses' ascent. This divergence was finally seen to be based on the distinction between virtuous living for the sake of a reward and disinterested virtue for the sake of loving God alone. This distinction was based not on any rigid classification of two types of Christian,¹⁰ but on Gregory's pragmatic observation that those who aspire to the perfect life are relatively rare: all had the same preparation, but not all ascended the mountain. The reader is encouraged to identify with and imitate the journey of Moses, who did aspire to perfection.

Yet the contrast between Moses and Israel is not finally intended by Gregory simply to make Moses' position more impressive by comparison with the ordinary motivations. The very last words of the treatise stress again that contemplation is no flight of the alone to the Alone: "As your understanding is lifted up to what is magnificent and divine, whatever you may find (and I know full well that you will find many things) will most certainly be for the common benefit in Christ Jesus. Amen" (2.321, p. 137). Whatever is found in the treatise or in the experience it describes is not for oneself alone, and certainly not to make the distinction between the perfect life and a life of less distinguished virtue a source of pride, but for the common good. It is not only Moses' elevation above the Israelites but his responsibility for them which is the point of the double journey. Contemplation is no privatized, individualistic accomplishment, but the God-given insight and ability to teach, heal and lead others. Moses does not enter the Promised Land, but he does not leave the Israelites until he has brought them to its borders. But even the "common benefit" is not the last word: the entire process of perfection takes place "in Christ Jesus," who is both the source of all spiritual insight and the reason why what is learned by one is shared by all. This typically Pauline expression

¹⁰It is evident throughout the treatise that Gregory presupposes his audience to be priests, evidently with a monastic formation, but his message as we have explored it is not exclusively applicable to this restricted group.

for both union with God and unity with other Christians is indeed the “perfect” summary and conclusion for Gregory’s teaching and for his treatise.

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The Genesis and Formation of the World Council of Churches. By W. A. Vissert Hooft. Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1982. Pp. 130. Paper \$6.95.

W. A. Vissert Hooft is properly regarded as one of the foremost spokesmen of the contemporary ecumenical movement and as one of the architects of the World Council of Churches. Since the year 1933, he was active in conferences which led directly to the establishment of the WCC in 1948. As its first General Secretary, Vissert Hooft served with distinction in that position until the year 1966 when he retired at the age of sixty-six to devote himself to teaching and writing. Since that time, he has been the Honorary President of the WCC.

This book by Vissert Hooft is a valuable contribution to the history of the ecumenical movement in general and the WCC in particular. While not intended to be a comprehensive study of the subject, the work provides many valuable insights into the persons and events which were part of the process which led to the establishment of the WCC. Vissert Hooft offers his readers insights which only a knowledgeable participant in the entire process could provide. Because this book deals primarily with developments which occurred between the years 1919 and 1948, it complements the article by Vissert Hooft on "The Genesis of the WCC," which appears in *A History of the Ecumenical Movement, 1517-1948*.

Written in a style which is almost conversational and organized as a series of personal reflections, this work offers some very insightful observations on persons such as Metropolitan Germanos Strenopoulos, J. H. Oldham, Archbishop Nathan Söderblom, W. A. Brown, and Archbishop William Temple. Vissert Hooft also provides some valuable observations on a number of ecumenical conferences which took place between 1919 and 1948. Among those mentioned are the conferences at Stockholm in 1925, Lausanne in 1927, Oxford and Edinburgh in 1937, and Utrecht in 1938. It was at this conference that the preliminary constitution of the WCC was drafted only a year before the beginning of the Second World War. Throughout the text, Vissert Hooft writes not as a detached observer, but as a very active participant in a unique process which was without precedent.

Readers interested in the Orthodox involvement in this process will be especially interested in the first and the last chapters of this work. In the first chapter, Vissert Hooft pays very special attention to the historical significance of the Encyclical of 1920 of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. He claims that this document has a number of remarkable features which cannot be ignored. Among these, Vissert Hooft notes that it was an official and ecclesiastical letter addressed by the Patriarchate to other churches in which the tragedy of Christian disunity was discussed. Furthermore, the encyclical called for the establishment of a 'league of churches' through

which the problems of disunity could be addressed. This was an unprecedented gesture which demonstrated the willingness of the Patriarchate to become involved in efforts directed toward Christian reconciliation. In the years which followed, the encyclical became a symbol of the fact that genuine ecumenism had to include not only the representatives of Western Christianity but also the representatives of the Orthodox Church. Because of the importance which Vissert Hooft gives to the encyclical, he has included the full text as part of the appendix.

The final chapter of the text will also be especially valuable to those concerned with Orthodox participation in the WCC. The WCC came into formal existence in the year 1948. Vissert Hooft claims, however, that the period of formation lasted another two years. This is so because it was not until the year 1950 that discussion on the nature of the WCC and its relationship to member churches led to the adoption of an explicit agreed statement on these issues. The Toronto Statement of 1950, according to Vissert Hooft, was a necessary and very critical document which did much to clarify the nature and the tasks of the WCC. The statement, for example, clearly affirms that the WCC is not and must never be viewed as a super-church. The WCC is not the *Una Sancta* and it is not meant to be seen as such. Furthermore, the statement says that membership in the WCC does not imply that members necessarily view other members as churches in the true and full sense of the word. With this in mind, the statement recognizes that the purpose of the WCC is to bring the churches into contact with each other in order to promote the study and discussion of the issues of Christian unity. The Council exists to assist the member churches in bearing common witness and in working toward reconciliation, yet the Council cannot legislate or act for its member churches. Each member church retains the constitutional right to ratify or to reject the statements and actions of the Council.

W. A. Vissert Hooft has wisely devoted much attention to the development and the significance of the Toronto Statement of 1950, and has reprinted it in full in the appendix. In so doing, he appears to be reaffirming the fundamental nature and task of the WCC. Indeed, it can be said that this is the underlying concern of the entire study.

Thomas Fitzgerald
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The Christian Church: Biblical Origin, Historical Transformation, and Potential for the Future. By Hans Schwarz. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1982. Pp. 383. Cloth \$19.95.

Hans Schwarz, for over a decade professor of systematic theology at

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**The
Greek
Orthodox
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Spring 1983

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gested an historical period of 'un-Romanness' between two periods of 'Romanness' (at one end the ancient Greek and Roman heritage, at the other the Renaissance with its perceived glories of a resuscitated Greek and Roman culture) that has traditionally been dated from 500 to 1350. More recent historians have not so narrowly seen the Middle Ages as a period of royalism, ecclesiastical coercion and aristocratic privilege, but as a means for contrasting industrial to preindustrial societies, or as a measure of diversity among cultures throughout the world, and even as a period to be studied and understood on its own terms. Important, too, is Peters' observation that "Modern Europeans and Americans are *not* the only cultural descendants of ancient Greece and Rome, but we are the *only* descendants of medieval Europe" (p. xiv). So, the study of medieval history remains important for Westerners to understand themselves.

Europe and the Middle Ages is organized in six major sections. Part 1 is called "Europe and the World of Antiquity" and contains four chapters on "The Beginning and End of the Roman Peace," "Religion and Society in Late Antiquity," "The Transformation of the Roman World," and "Christian Rome and the New Europeans." Part 2 is entitled "Two Heirs of the Ancient World" and in two chapters deals with "The Making of Byzantine Civilization" and "The Rise of Islam"; while Part 3, "The Early Middle Ages, 650-950," in three chapters surveys "The Environment of North Temperate Europe," "The Book and the Sword" and "Europe Emerges." Part 4 centers on "Christendom: Authority and Enterprise, 950-1150" and in three chapters discusses "Material Civilization," "Power and Society" and "Christendom East and West"; while Part 5, "Culture and Society in the High Middle Ages," devotes four chapters to "The New Learning," "Religion and Society," "The Political Culture of Medieval Europe" and "Reason and Imagination in the Gothic World." The final section (Part 6), "The Later Middle Ages," has four chapters concerned with "Material Civilization: Crisis and Recovery," "The Church and the World," "Power and Order" and "Frontiers and Horizons." There are appendices with lists of popes and rulers and a quite good general bibliography and index.

The author has presented us with a fairly balanced picture of a medieval world from a Western perspective, but one which does not ignore the interaction between the Byzantine East and the Roman Catholic West and the significance and vitality of Byzantium (Peters describes Byzantine cultural spirit as immensely creative and vividly illustrates this fact) in the greater medieval world. He is also careful to describe the important contacts between Islam and Christianity and to put them in their proper context. Noteworthy, too, is his acknowledgement of the role and the plight of the Jews in Western Europe. Peters' emphasis on the powerful religious sensibility of the Middle Ages, and even religious sophistication and acuteness of conscience in the fourteenth and fifteenth cen-

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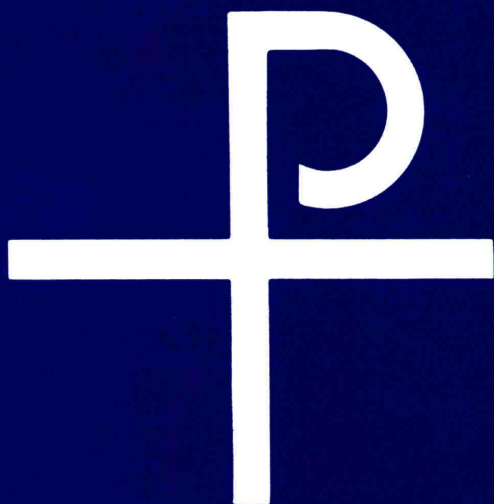
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**Volume 28
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The Holy Eucharist as Theophany*

THOMAS FITZGERALD

"THE LORD IS GOD and he has revealed himself to us" (Ps 118.26). This joyous proclamation is sung every morning during the Matin Service in the Orthodox Church. This proclamation declares that our Christian faith, our hope, our love, and our prayers are founded upon the reality of the divine self-disclosure. The way in which God has encountered us and the way in which we approach the living God are not left to our limited powers of human analysis and reflection. God is not the ultimate force or power that we seek primarily through the use of reason. Rather, he is the one God who has revealed himself to us and for us. Through this divine self-disclosure we have come to experience and to know the one God as Father, as Son and as Holy Spirit. The doctrine of the Holy Trinity is for the Orthodox, therefore, "the unshakeable foundation of all religious thought, of all piety, of all spiritual life and of all experience."¹

The Incarnation of the Son of God, the second person of the Holy Trinity, is the core event of the divine self-disclosure. In fulfillment of the law and the prophets of ancient Israel, Christ came to inaugurate the kingdom of God in loving obedience to the Father and by the power of the Holy Spirit. The very event of the Incarnation of the Logos established a new relationship between God and humanity. Through this great act of divine love, "Jesus Christ, by uniting man and God in his own person, reopened for man the path to union with God. In his own person, Christ showed what the true likeness of God is, and through his redeeming and victorious sacrifice he set that likeness once again within man's reach. Christ, the second Adam, came to earth and reversed the effects of the first Adam's disobedience."²

From the day of the Annunciation to the day of the Ascension, the activity of the Lord on earth cannot be separated either from the holy will of the Father or the sanctifying presence of the Holy Spirit. Christ is

*This paper was presented at the 23rd meeting of the Orthodox-Roman Catholic Bilateral Consultation in the United States, 1-3 October 1981 at Garrison, New York.

¹Vladimir Lossky, *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church* (London, 1957) p. 158.

²Timothy Ware, *The Orthodox Church* (Baltimore, 1963) p. 230.

the revealing Word spoken by the Father (Jn 12.45), and he is also the one who heralds the coming of the Holy Spirit (Jn 14.26). Truly, only one person of the Holy Trinity became incarnate to destroy the power of sin, death and the devil, and to bestow life upon the world. However, through the Incarnation there is a revelation of both the Father who has sent the Logos and the Holy Spirit who accompanied the Lord in all his works. "In the name of Christ," says Saint Irenaios, "is implied the anointer, the anointed, and the unction. The Father is the anointer, the Son is the anointed, and the Holy Spirit is the unction."³ The manifestation of the Father and the Holy Spirit, which occurred at the baptism and at the transfiguration of the Lord, highlights and illuminates this reality. While they are distinct in their persons, the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are intimately related. "No sooner do I conceive of the one," says Saint Gregory the Theologian, "then I am illuminated by the splendor of the three. No sooner do I distinguish them, then I am carried back to the one. When I think of any one of the three, I think of him as the whole, and my eyes are filled, and the greater part of what I am thinking escapes me."⁴

The divine economy, which has as its goal the salvation of humanity and the world, involves each person of the Holy Trinity. For us and for our salvation the Son of God became incarnate. Yet this wondrous act of divine love was accomplished in order to fulfill the will of the Father who desires that all be saved and come to the knowledge of the truth (1 Tim 2.4). Further, it is through the mediating activity of the Holy Spirit that the risen Lord is revealed and his life becomes our life. In speaking of the divine self-disclosure in the Church of God and in the Holy Eucharist, we may properly speak about the mystery of Christ who, as the risen Lord, is present in our midst according to his promise (Mt 18.20). However, the term 'mystery of Christ' must always be understood in the fullest sense. As the image of the Father (2 Cor 4.4), the risen Lord becomes our Savior and our brother through the power of the Holy Spirit.

The Holy Spirit leads us to Christ and permits us to participate in the glory of the kingdom which he has made accessible through his life, death and resurrection. "Through the Spirit," says Saint Irenaios, "man ascends to the Son, and through the Son to the Father."⁵ In his discourse at the Last Supper the Lord promised the disciples that after his departure the Father would send the Holy Spirit in his name (Jn 14.26). Since the day of Pentecost, the Holy Spirit has been present to mediate the presence and the actions of the Lord in every age and in

³Saint Irenaios, *Against Heresies* 3.15.3.

⁴Saint Gregory the Theologian, *Orations on Holy Baptism* 40.41.

⁵Saint Irenaios, *Against Heresies* 5.36.2.

every place. We know Jesus as Lord because of the Holy Spirit (1 Cor 12.3).

The economy of the Holy Spirit is concerned with our personal participation in the act of God. It is the will of God as revealed to us through the Incarnation that we should personally enter into communion with the life and glory which by nature belong to the Holy Trinity. In the words of Saint Peter we are offered the gift of becoming "partakers of the divine nature" (2 Pet 1.4). In cooperation with the activity of the Holy Spirit, persons come to know Christ and to share in the abundant life which he offers. Through the actions of the Holy Spirit, Jesus is not a remote figure of history, but the living Lord whom we can know and love in the present. Our ascent to the Father is made possible because the Holy Spirit leads us to him who had descended for our salvation. By the power of the Holy Spirit, we are being conformed to the likeness of Christ and being prepared for the day when we come before the Father in perfect holiness (1 Th 5.23). The presence of the Spirit in our lives is the pledge and first taste of the blessings to which with hope we look forward (2 Cor 1.22).

The person of the Holy Spirit is not subordinate to Christ. The actions of the Holy Spirit are not inferior to those of Christ. Within the divine plan of salvation, the relationship between the Son and the Spirit are complementary and reciprocal. To use the phrase of Saint Irenaios, the Son and the Spirit are the "two hands" of God the Father.⁶ The redemptive work of Christ cannot be fully appreciated apart from the sanctifying work of the Holy Spirit. Both Son and Spirit work in harmony with each other to accomplish the will of the Father. As Saint Gregory of Nyssa has written: "All activities which extend from God to creation are described by different names, in accordance with the different ways in which they are presented to our thought: but every such activity originates from the Father, proceeds from the Son, and is brought to fulfillment in the Holy Spirit."⁷ The salvation of humanity is an action which involves each person of the Holy Trinity. The Triune God "has saved us and called us to be holy not because of anything we ourselves have done, but for his own purpose and by his own grace" (2 Tim 1.9).

The words of the following hymn, which is sung on the festival of Pentecost, express well the dignity of the three persons of the Holy Trinity, as well as their interrelationship:

Come, O peoples, let us venerate the tri-hypostatic Deity,
the Son in the Father, with the Holy Spirit.
Before time the Father generated the Son,

⁶Ibid. 5.1.3.

⁷Saint Gregory of Nyssa, "An Answer to Ablabios: That We Should Not Think of Saying There Are Three Gods," PG 45.126.D.

sharing his eternity and his throne.
 And the Holy Spirit was in the Father,
 glorified together with the Son.
 One Power, one Essence, one Deity,
 whom we all venerate and say:
 Holy God, who created all things through the Son
 with the cooperation of the Holy Spirit.
 Holy Mighty One, through whom we know the Father
 and the Holy Spirit dwelt in the world.
 Holy Immortal One, the Spirit Comforter,
 who proceeds from the Father,
 and abides in the Son!
 Holy Trinity, glory to you.⁸

The Theanthropic Community

The Church of God is an integral part and expression of the divine plan of salvation. Being the called and sanctified people of God in communion with the Triune God, the Church was established by Christ with the call of the first disciples and was enlivened by the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost. The Church is at once the expression of both Christ and the Holy Spirit who act to fulfill the holy will of the Father. Within the life of the Church, the Holy Spirit unites persons to Christ the risen Lord who leads them to the Father. Through the life of the Church we pass "from the bondage of corruption unto the glorious liberty of the children of God" (Rom 8.21). The Church is the "household of God" (Eph 2.19) through which we have the opportunity to cultivate a bond of personal love not only with our fellow human members, but also with each person of the Holy Trinity.

For this very reason Orthodoxy has always sought to emphasize the mystery of the Church (Eph 5.33). By affirming the divine, as well as the human, dimension of the Church, we proclaim that the Church is a theandric reality which can never be fully expressed in human conceptions. While not denying the significance of her human dimension or her historical character, we recognize that the Church is a mystery of humanity in communion with divinity which exists in history but transcends time and space. She has her beginning and her end in the actions of the Triune God who seeks the free and personal participation of human persons in the glory of the kingdom. This, of course, does not mean that the Church is a paradox. Rather, it means that the Church is a theandric reality which is so full of depth and meaning that we can never penetrate her beauty and her richness.⁹

⁸Vespers of Pentecost.

⁹Lossky, *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church*, pp. 174-95.

While the Church cannot be fully defined, she may be described as a community of human persons in communion with the three divine persons. The Church is an expression of both horizontal and vertical relationships of love which are not bound by space and time. Within the life of the Church the reality of the Triune God and his mighty works of love are revealed and experienced. The Church is the locus of divine life and activity through which human persons, with the aid of each other, pass from one degree of glory to another (2 Cor 3.18). The holiness of the Trinity becomes accessible to us through the life of the Church.

This perception of the Church forces us to reject all views of her which diminish either the fulness of her divine dimension or the fulness of her human dimension. As Father Georges Florovsky frequently observed, heretical distortions of authentic Christology can pass easily into the realm of ecclesiology. In our own day, the tendency to reduce the reality of the Church to a society of human persons gathered about a doctrine, a ritual or an ethical code is especially dangerous. In such a sociological view of the Church, she becomes simply a fraternal, political or ethnic association which is void of the transcendent reality. Viewed from this perspective, the Church is certainly not an object of faith.¹⁰

Similarly, there is the danger of viewing ecclesiology through the perspective of a narrow Christology. An unhealthy Christomonism will produce an ecclesiology which pays little attention to the other persons of the Holy Trinity. While we may most properly affirm that the Church is the 'body of Christ,' for example, this affirmation should not diminish our appreciation of the Father who sent the Son, or the Spirit who reveals the Son. Within the life of the Church, we encounter neither an impersonal God nor a depersonalized Trinity.

The Eucharistic Encounter

The reality of the Church is manifested in and through the Holy Eucharist. The great mystery of believers in communion with each other and in communion with the three divine persons is expressed in the assembly where the eucharistic gifts of bread and wine are prayerfully offered and received with thanksgiving. Through this assembly, the kingdom of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit is revealed in the midst of time and space.

Properly speaking, the Church does not 'have' a particular number of sacraments which are independent from the great mystery of the divine-human encounter revealed in the eucharistic assembly. Closely associated with the Holy Eucharist, however, there are a number of sacramental mysteries. These are not properly separated from their eucharistic con-

¹⁰Georges Florovsky, *Bible, Church, Tradition: An Eastern Orthodox View* (Belmont, Ma., 1972) pp. 37-72.

text because they signify and illuminate aspects of the divine-human encounter which is celebrated in the Holy Eucharist. In other words, every sacramental mystery serves to signify either the establishment of new relationships or the healing of old relationships which were damaged by sin. Every sacramental mystery, therefore, has a bearing upon the bond of unity which exists among the believers, as well as between the believers and the persons of the Trinity. In every sacramental mystery the risen Lord is present and acts in the name of the Father and through the Holy Spirit to strengthen the relationships within his body which is the eucharistic assembly.

The Orthodox Church has been reluctant to number the sacramental mysteries or to distinguish in a dramatic fashion one from the other precisely because of her fundamental understanding of the reality of the Church as the great mystery of the divine-human encounter. From the Orthodox perspective, the sacramental mysteries are viewed "less as isolated acts through which a particular grace is bestowed upon individuals by properly appointed ministers acting with proper intention, and more as aspects of the unique mystery of the Church, in which God shares divine life with humanity, redeeming man from sin and death and bestowing upon him the glory of immortality."¹¹ It is within the life of the Church, as revealed most especially in the Eucharist, that we encounter the revelation of the Holy Trinity as manifested in the presence of the risen Lord. Moreover, it is also within the life of the Church, most especially in the Holy Eucharist, that we come to share in the life and glory of the Trinity.

Clearly, the sacramental mysteries of the Church cannot be properly appreciated apart from their eucharistic context. "The Eucharist alone of the mysteries," writes Nicholas Kabasilas, "brings perfection to the other sacraments."¹² Regretfully, however, the present practice in the Orthodox Church of celebrating the sacramental mysteries apart from their eucharistic context does not serve well our perception of the Church or the Holy Eucharist. The unfortunate practice of celebrating 'private sacraments' is a liturgical abuse which is not unlike the practice of 'private masses' which arose in the West, but is now discouraged. While every sacramental mystery should have a personal significance, there is no event in the Orthodox Church which is private. Every act of the Church is an action of the entire Church.

Persons become participants in the Eucharist assembly through the rites of Christian initiation. Through this sacramental mystery, which is best celebrated as a preliminary to the community Eucharist, new relationships are established between the newly baptized and the person of

¹¹ John Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology* (New York, 1974) p. 191.

¹² Nicholas Kabasilas, *The Life in Christ* 4.3.

the Holy Trinity, as well as among the newly baptized and the other members of the Church. In the Orthodox Church the rite of Christian initiation consists of a number of prayers and actions which surround and illuminate the fundamental act of the threefold immersion in the name of the Holy Trinity. These include: exorcisms, the invocation of the Holy Spirit on the water, anointing with oil, the immersion, the chrismation, the vesting, the tonsuring and the administration of Holy Communion. All of these bear witness through prayer and action to the presence of the Triune God who calls the 'newly illuminated' to be a participant in his life. By being united with the Lord through the waters of baptism, an eternal bond is established between him and the newly baptized. This bond is one which unites us not only with Christ, but also with those who are in Christ. Reflecting upon the event of Christian initiation, Saint Ambrose says:

In all that we have done, we have respected the mystery of the Trinity. Everywhere are found the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit; one operation, one sanctifying action, even if there be, as it seems, something special for each.... You have this that is special: It is God who has called you; while in baptism you have been crucified with Christ; and then, when you receive in a special way the sign of the Spirit, you see that there is a distinction of persons, but that the whole mystery of the Trinity is bound up together.¹³

The Orthodox Church has always encouraged the practice of infant baptism and has opposed the practice of 're-baptism' chiefly because the baptismal event has its genesis with the action of the Triune God who acts in history to permit human persons to share in his life. God has first loved us. He has claimed us for himself and he offers us the gifts of love, friendship and glory. Even before we can consciously say 'yes' to him, Christ has united us to himself. Even before we can seek the gift of the Holy Spirit, he has come to dwell in us. Even before we can call God our Father, he has demonstrated his love for his children. The event of Christian initiation bears witness first and foremost to the redemptive action of the Triune God. In the name of the Father and through the gift of the Holy Spirit, Christ the Lord takes possession of us in a mystical act of love which is beyond our understanding. From the day of our baptism, we have been set upon the path of sanctification. From that day, our lives have been inextricably bound to Christ. Thus, our destiny, which is realized in the life of the Church, is to become, through the anointing of the Holy Spirit, conformed to the image of the Son who leads us back to the Father (Rom 8.29). As Saint Cyril of Alexandria has said:

¹³Saint Ambrose, *On the Sacraments* 6.2.

Our return to God which is made through Christ our Savior takes place only through the participation and the sanctification of the Holy Spirit. The one who joins us and unites us, so to speak, with God is the Spirit. In receiving the Spirit, we become participants and sharers in the divine nature; we receive him through the Son and in the Son we receive the Father.¹⁴

A careful analysis of the prayers and the actions of the Divine Liturgy in the Orthodox Church provides us with four significant insights which can aid us in appreciating better the relationship between the Holy Eucharist and the Holy Trinity.¹⁵ First, the Eucharist provides us with the opportunity to experience each person of the Holy Trinity. The Eucharist is not primarily a 'thing,' nor is it 'something' we do without reference to the actions of God. On the contrary, the Eucharist is an assembly through which human persons encounter in prayer each person of the Holy Trinity. As the mystical supper, it is a meeting (σύναξις) between human persons bound together by faith, hope, and love and the divine persons. The divine self-disclosure of Father, Son and Holy Spirit is manifested and celebrated and experienced in the Eucharist. Through the prayers and actions of the Holy Eucharist, we have the opportunity not only to deepen our relationship with our fellow believers, but also to deepen our relationship with each of the persons of the Holy Trinity. Our God is neither impersonal nor depersonalized.¹⁶

A reading of the prayers of the Divine Liturgy makes this fact quite clear. Through our common prayers we encounter and pray to each person. The vast majority of the prayers are addressed to God the Father. Yet most of them conclude with a doxology through which glory and praise are offered to each person. Moreover, in addition to these prayers, we find a number of prayers addressed directly to Christ and at least one which is addressed directly to the Holy Spirit. This liturgical practice of praying to each of the persons serves to highlight and to illuminate the reality of our encounter with Father, Son and Holy Spirit—the one, true and living God.¹⁷

Secondly, the Eucharist is an *anamnesis* of the mighty and salutary actions of the Triune God. During the course of the Last Supper, the Lord directed his disciples to offer bread and wine in his memory (1 Cor

¹⁴Saint Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentary on the Gospel of Saint John* 11.10.

¹⁵This relationship is expressed most especially in the eucharistic anaphoras of the Liturgies of Saint John Chrysostom, Saint Basil the Great, Saint James the Brother of God and Saint Mark the Evangelist.

¹⁶Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology*, pp. 206-10.

¹⁷J.D. Zizioulas, "The Eucharistic Community and the Catholicity of the Church," *One in Christ* 6 (1970) 314-37; Oliver Clement, "Orthodox Ecclesiology as an Ecclesiology of Communion," *ibid.* 101-22.

11.24). Thus, the offering of bread and wine, which is central to the eucharistic encounter, is not an accident or an appendage to the life and activity of the Lord. Rather, the Eucharist is an essential part of the divine plan of salvation. When the Lord commanded his disciples to "do this," he enjoined them to become participants in the process of salvation which was being manifested through his Incarnation.¹⁸

The offering of the eucharistic gifts of bread and wine within the context of the Eucharist is done in memory of all acts of God which have as their goal the salvation of humanity and the world. We gather in the Eucharist not simply to remember Jesus. But much more than this, we recall the salutary actions of God from the time of creation to the time of the second coming. We not only remember the past historic events, but also we remember the future by looking forward to the time when the victory of the Lord over evil will be complete through the power of the Holy Spirit. "The Christian remembrance," says Father Florovsky, "is much more than just a memory or a reminiscence.... But these individual events of the past are, at the same time, paradoxically present in the Church here and now."¹⁹ By remembering his actions in the past, our encounter with the Triune God becomes more intense in the present.

Thirdly, the Eucharist reveals the Church in her human dimension to be a reflection of her divine dimension. The Holy Trinity is a community of persons who share a common reality (nature) and, thereby, express a true and substantial unity. At the same time, each person of the Trinity has his unique qualities which distinguish one from the other. These unique qualities, however, serve to enhance and complement each other. Each person shares in the presence and the activity of the others.

Similarly, the Church in her human dimension is fashioned by male and female persons of various ages, races, places, languages and stages of spiritual growth. These persons share a common reality which is their human nature redeemed and restored in Christ. The water of baptism is a sign not only of our unity with Christ, but also of our unity with one another through Christ. As Saint Paul has said, "All baptized in Christ, you have clothed yourselves in Christ and there is no more distinction between Jew and Greek, slave and free, male and female, but all of you are one in Christ Jesus (Gal 3.28).

Within this unity of human nature in Christ, there is a true and authentic diversity of human persons. Through the grace of the Holy Spirit, each person has been blessed with gifts (Rom 12.6). While these gifts serve to highlight our unique persons, they do not destroy the bond of unity which we have with one another in Christ. Truly, each gift is given not for the ultimate benefit of one person alone, but for the well-being

¹⁸Alexander Schmemmann, *For the Life of the World* (Crestwood, N.Y., 1973) pp. 23-46.

¹⁹Georges Florovsky, "The Worshipping Church," *The Festal Menaion*, trans. Mother Mary and Kallistos Ware (London, 1969) p.28.

of all the members of the body of Christ. Neither persons nor their gifts are without value for the community of believers. Thus, the Church in her human dimension reflects the unity in diversity of the Holy Trinity.

Such a trinitarian view of the Church in her human dimension has profound implication for our understanding of the ordained ministry. The ordained ministry of the priestly community (1 Pet 2.9) is not an order which stands apart or above the whole Church. The person who is called to the ordained ministry is one led by the Triune God from the midst of the Church for the service of the Church. As with other complementary gifts of the Holy Spirit, the gift of the ordained ministry is a bequest to the whole Church which is bestowed upon particular persons for the well-being of the body of Christ. Before anything else, all of the baptized are equal members of the people of God. Through the water of baptism all have been called to be priests of creation. It is from within this priestly community of believers that the functional differentiations of gifts are produced. From among the people of God, some persons are called and established by divine act and through the consent of the people to be bishops, presbyters and deacons. This differentiation is not one of nature, but one of a gift which makes a fundamental separation between cleric and layperson impossible.²⁰

Finally, the Eucharist is the encounter through which we become participants in the divine life by means of the worthy reception of Holy Communion. Our reception of the eucharistic bread and wine provides us with an intimate and deeply personal encounter with the Lord through his divine energies. Through our reception of the eucharistic bread and wine, Nicholas Kabasilas says that we become "more akin to Christ than birth makes us akin to our parents.... It is not, like our parents, the cause of life, but life itself."²¹

In speaking of the significance of the eucharistic bread and wine, our Lord frequently taught this truth. On one such occasion he forcefully declared, "He who eats my flesh and drinks my blood abides in me and I in him" (Jn 5.56). This and similar statements by our Lord have always been accepted by the Orthodox as firm declarations that the eucharistic bond between Christ and his followers is one of profound intimacy. The bond which is established through the reception of Holy Communion is far richer and deeper than the relationship effected through unceasing prayer, ascent to correct dogma or the following of an ethical code. While these and other aspects of Christian life are important and valuable, they alone do not constitute the essence of the intimacy which Holy Communion establishes. The bond between the Lord and his followers established at the time of baptism is nurtured and enriched

²⁰Kallistos Ware, "Man, Woman, and the Priesthood of Christ," *Man, Woman, Priesthood*, ed. Peter Moore (London, 1978) pp. 77-82.

²¹Nicholas Kabasilas, *The Life in Christ* 4.15.

through the reception of Holy Communion. "It is clear," says Nicholas Kabasilas, "that we are called to a banquet in which we truly take Christ in our hands and receive him with our mouth, in which we are mingled with him in our soul and united with him in body and commingled in blood."²²

The Orthodox Church has always recognized the mysterious character of the presence of Christ in Holy Communion and has generally avoided making formal declarations which seek to explain that which is beyond full explanation. Having said this, however, the Church does provide us with some guidance to aid us in living this mystery. First, it is clear from the anaphora of the Liturgy that the eucharistic bread and wine undergo a transformation that results from the action of the Triune God who works in and through our human offerings. We pray that God the Father will change the offering of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ through the activity of the Holy Spirit. The Orthodox have always emphasized the importance of the invocation (ἐπίκλησις) of the Holy Spirit in order to express properly the fact that each person of the Holy Trinity is a participant in the eucharistic transfiguration. The presence of Christ in the eucharistic gifts is an objective reality grounded in the actions of the Triune God.²³

In addition to this, the Church employs the distinction between the essence of God and the energies of God to aid us in appreciating the presence of the Lord in the eucharistic bread and wine.²⁴ The single reality of God is expressed in both essence and energies. The former is always hidden and unapproachable. The latter is present and experiential. The eucharistic bread and wine, therefore, do not contain the essence of God, but the energies of God. As part of the divine plan of salvation, the Triune God has established the eucharistic bread and wine as a unique means through which his sanctifying presence becomes available to humanity. As at the Burning Bush or at the Transfiguration on Mount Tabor, the divine energies 'transfigure' material creation with divine presence. Thus, the reality of the eucharistic bread and wine is not destroyed, but enriched and enlivened by the divine presence. In a very real sense, the material world finds its fulfillment in the eucharistic bread and wine. This reality is expressed by Nicholas Kabasilas when he says:

For since it was not possible for us to ascend and participate in that which is his, he comes down to us and participates in that which is ours. And so precisely does he conform to the things

²²Nicholas Kabasilas, *The Life in Christ* 4.15.

²³J.D. Zizioulas, "The Pneumatological Dimension of the Church," *International Catholic Review* 1 (1974) 142-58.

²⁴Maximos Aghiorgoussis, "Christian Existentialism and the Greek Fathers: Persons, Essence, and Energies of God," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 23 (1978) 28-39.

which he assumed that, in giving those things to us which he has received from us, he gives himself to us. Partaking of the body and blood of his humanity, we receive God himself in our souls—the body and blood of God, and the soul and mind and will of God—no less than his humanity.²⁵

The risen Lord is revealed in the Holy Eucharist through the activity of the Holy Spirit. By sharing in his body and his blood, our relationship with the Lord is deepened and we are led to the Father who calls us to his kingdom and glory (1 Th 2.12). By the Word and the wisdom of the Father, we are sought. Through our free cooperation with the Lord in the Spirit, we are changed into his likeness and pass from one degree of glory to another (2 Cor 3.18). Redemption is an activity of the Triune God who seeks our free response in faith and in love. And so we pray:

The Father is my hope.

The Son is my refuge.

The Holy Spirit is my protection.

O Holy Trinity, glory to you.

²⁵Nicholas Kabasilas, *The Life in Christ* 4.9.

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REVIEWS

The Icon. By Kurt Weitzmann, Gaiané Alibegašvili, Aneli Volkskaja, Manolis Chatzidakis, Gordana Babić, Mihail Alpatov and Teodora Voinescu. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982. Pp. 419 (including 385 full color plates). First American edition. \$60.00 Cloth.

A book of this kind can only be described as a publishing event. Not only is its massive size (each page measures 9½ by 12 inches) and superb production (a sewn binding, a gold, full-color jacket with a durable French fold) appropriate to its subject — one that is for the first time contained in a single, substantial and substantive volume with a total of 385 full-color plates printed in Italy at Officine Grafiche de Verona by Arnoldo Mondadori Editore — but the fact that seven distinguished scholars have contributed seven separate sections, corresponding to the seven principal cultures of the icon, is highly indicative of an international effort to present, illustrate, critically comment upon and assess the use and role of the icon in Eastern Orthodox Christianity on a scale never previously attempted in a single work of this kind. Professor Weitzmann of the Institute of Advanced Study at Princeton has provided a brief but authoritative introduction in which he pertinently notes that

for far more than a millenium, the icon has been central to the life of the Orthodox believer. Its wide acceptance has rested upon the ability of artists to mix tradition and innovation. Subject matter, whether dictated by the church or developed as illustration of popular beliefs, has always remained understandable to the masses. At the same time, a sufficient measure of artistic freedom existed to allow the development not so much of a personal style — although the individual note is by no means missing — as a style conditioned by the structure of society and the various classes that commissioned individual icons. Moreover, icons are endowed with aesthetic values, which are expressed in harmonious design and carefully calculated color distribution. For all of these reasons, icons are loved and admired today all over the world (pp. 9-10).

The above are the words of one of the world's greatest authorities on

Byzantine art; and they very much set the tone for the entire volume which can be used as a reference book or as a kind of survey of the Orthodox Christian icon from tenth-century Constantinople through its various manifestations in Greece, Russia, Crete, the Balkan peninsula and the Holy Land—across seven cultures and a thousand years of history.

Each scholar deals in his or her own way with the particular cultural and historical manifestation of the icon. Kurt Weitzmann contributes the chapter on Constantinople (1) and on the icons of the period of the Crusades (4), noting that it was Constantinople that set the artistic standard within and beyond the Byzantine Empire, but that even though national elements asserted themselves, the influence and legacy of Constantinople was never lost. Gaiané Alibegašvili and Aneli Volskaja provide us with insights into the icons of Georgia (2) during its period of political and cultural efflorescence from the ninth to the thirteenth centuries, while the icons of the Balkan Peninsula and the Greek islands (with emphasis on Thessalonike, Ochrid, Serbia, Central Greece and Crete) are dealt with in two jointly written full chapters (3, 6) by Manolis Chatzidakis and Gordana Babić. As already indicated, Weitzmann himself has provided unusual insights on 'Crusader icons' from Saint Catherine's monastery, with many questions of interpretation of the data still to be determined (120 icons produced by Latin artists were found among the more than 2,000 owned by the monastery). Mihail Alpatov's chapter on Russian icons is in some ways the most perceptive in the whole book. Alpatov notes that the early Russian painters "tried to give people an idea of the world as a whole—not as a precise picture but as a likeness" (p. 241); and "Icons are imbued with a profound conviction, a pure faith, but this never develops into a fanatical passion and does not lead to the loss of a sense of proportion. Their profound humanity lies not only in the characteristic depiction of the ideal, God in human likeness, but also in the fact that everything that is portrayed is within the bounds of man's knowledge, feelings and emotions, and has come through the cleansing fire of the sensitive human soul; everything is colored with human sympathy" (p. 240). Particularly Russian is the depiction of the image of the Virgin and Child enthroned against the background of a multidomed church, surrounded by people glorifying and exalting them. Also quite Russian is the Virgin spreading her veil over the people for whom she intercedes and protects. Alpatov calls these "convocation" themes and also highlights Rublev's *Old Testament Trinity*, Theophanes the Greek, Dionysios and the unknown artist of the *Entombment*. Russian iconography has a distinct place in the history of the icon; but just as the Serbians accepted Byzantine models but adapted them to their own ideologies and locales, "the same iconographic language was spoken, and the same respect accorded to the Byzantine artistic ethos 'was' comprehensible to every medieval person born into the Orthodox Christian

tradition" (p. 144). In the last chapter (7) Teodora Voinescu introduces the reader to the richness of Rumanian iconography in her survey of the post-Byzantine icons of Wallachia and Moldavia and illustrates the remarkable robustness and vitality of a vast iconographic repertoire, both diffuse and traditional, that successfully maintained a Rumanian Orthodox Christian iconographic continuity.

The Icon has already been widely, though briefly, noted in a variety of places in the popular media. It is hoped that this will have the effect of familiarizing the uninitiated with an area of art history of unusual beauty and brilliance, but also with an ancient and medieval Christian tradition that was, and is, theologically and culturally extremely rich and vital.

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The Sociology of Religion. By Thomas F. O'Dea and Janet O'Dea Aviad. Foundations of Modern Sociology Series. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1983. Second Edition. Pp. viii + 135. \$11.95 Cloth; \$8.95 Paper.

According to the authors of this new edition of an introduction to the sociology of religion, "The sociology of religion is the study of the significant, and often subtle, relationships which prevail between religion and social structure, and between religion and social progress. It involves the attempt to develop and make more adequate its own conceptualizations as it comes to comprehend better the many-sided phenomena which religion presents for study" (pp. 127-28). The aim is to present a conceptual scheme and vocabulary of analysis concretely, avoiding high-level generalizations without immediate empirical evidence, and to make use of as little technical jargon as possible. Strengths and weaknesses of the conceptual bases of sociology are indicated in the process. Religion is recognized as universally practiced and as concerned with a "beyond," with humanity's relation to and attitude toward that 'beyond,' and with what people consider to be the practical implications of the 'beyond' for human life" (p. 1). In other words, we are dealing with an area that is transcendent.

Much of the book involves the application of functional theory to religion as a need that grows out of human existence that is characterized by *contingency*, *powerlessness*, and *scarcity*. In terms of functional theory, religion has been described as "the *manipulation of non-empirical or supraempirical means for non-empirical or supraempirical ends*" (p. 7). Religion provides meaning beyond the capability of our human knowledge and a sense of security beyond what human beings can guarantee.

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to see that he had depersonalized his subjects, making great Fathers of the Church nothing but cold, stone figures. What Seraphim has done in this small book is to personalize Saint Augustine—to bring a man, a human being, before us, demonstrating to us how the greatness of God, nonetheless, worked through the littleness of the man (if, indeed, we can but rhetorically call so great a man as Augustine ‘little’). It is this personal element which commends Father Seraphim’s book to the Orthodox believer and the Orthodox scholar alike.

I might lastly add that the Introduction to this book, by Father Alexey Young, is a useful piece of writing in itself. With an almost ‘pastoral’ tone, it sets the stage for Father Seraphim’s scholarly drama—and that is just what the book is: a drama. It brings to life a character and, in so doing, throws a shadow of grave doubt over the writings of those who would make the ‘divine Augustine,’ as Saint Mark of Ephesus calls him, the Father of heresies and the source of all Western error. In fact, the shadow throws not only doubt, but unbelief.

I highly recommend this excellent book to anyone interested in a fair and profound view of the great Father Augustine of Hippo.

Archimandrite Chrysostomos
Center for Traditionalist Orthodox Studies
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The Meaning of Icons. By Leonid Ouspensky and Vladimir Lossky. Translated by G. E. H. Palmer and E. Kadloubovsky. Foreword by Titus Burckhardt. Crestwood, New York: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1982. Revised Edition. Pp. 222 (including 160 pages of texts with drawings, 13 black and white and 51 full color plates). Linen-cloth \$35.00, Paper-bound \$22.50.

The Meaning of Icons has become something of a classic work in Orthodox iconography. The reissuance of a second revised edition with sixteen new plates and a larger number of color illustrations with an appropriately modified text is a welcome event thirty years after the original publication. If anything, interest in the subject matter has grown and the essays on “Tradition and Traditions” by Vladimir Lossky (pp. 11-22); and the “The Meaning and Language of Icons” (pp. 25-49); and “The Technique of Iconography” (pp. 53-55) by Leonid Ouspensky are as valid and as illuminating today as they were when they were originally written. The bulk of the book is, of course, the “The Explanation of the Main Types of Icons,” providing a really impressive introduction to the proper study of Orthodox icons which “are expressions of the inexpressible, and have

become possible thanks to the revelation of God, which was accomplished in the Incarnation of the Son" (p. 14). Like dogmatic definitions, icons have been associated with Holy Scriptures and "impinge on our consciousness by means of the outer senses, presenting to us the same supra-sensible reality in 'aesthetic' expressions (in the proper sense of the word, that which can be perceived by the senses). But the intelligible element does not remain foreign to iconography: in looking at an icon, one discovers in it a 'logical' structure, a dogmatic content which has determined its composition" (p. 22).

The reader is introduced to the theology of the Orthodox Christian icon as well as its historical and Scriptural origins: "the image is necessarily inherent in the very essence of Christianity, from its inception, since Christianity is the revelation by God—Man, not only of the Word of God, but also of the Image of God" (p. 25). It was the Trullan Synod of 691-92 that laid the basis for its dogmatic existence and pointed to the possibility of art symbolically reflecting the glory of God, while the Seventh Ecumenical Synod (787), proclaiming the Triumph of Orthodoxy over iconoclasm, stressed the theme of the icon of the divine Incarnation—that "God became man in order that man should become God." Each human being is thus capable of becoming a living icon of God: "*Thus the icon is not a representation of the Deity, but an indication of the participation of a given person in divine life*" (p. 36). Iconography shows that there are two realities: God and the world; grace and nature. "The holy image, just like the Holy Scriptures, transmits not human ideas and conceptions of truth, but truth itself—the divine revelation" (p. 41) is one of Ouspensky's most telling points. Russian and Byzantine iconography are compared and contrasted, and both are represented in this volume, and even though the Russian orientation predominates, the spirituality of the icons is appropriately and rightly underlined. L. Ouspensky puts it superbly when he says: "Thus as the living experience of the deification of man continues to exist, so, too, lives the iconographic tradition, and with it, even its technique; since as long as this experience is alive, its expression, whether in word or image, cannot disappear. In other words, being the outer expression of the likeness of God in man, the icon cannot disappear, just as the the likeness of man to God itself cannot disappear" (p. 49).

Specifically, after explaining the nature, purpose, and structure of the iconostasis and the Holy or Royal Door, icons of Christ, the Savior Acheiropoietos, the Pantokrator, and icons of the Mother of God are discussed and illustrated. In the case of the Theotokos, the Hodegitria, the Smolensk, Tichvine, and Kazan Mother of God icons are taken up, followed by the Mother of God Enthroned, icons of Loving-Kindness, the Vladimir, Tolga, and Korsun Theotokos and the Mother of God of the Passion. The saints, John the Forerunner, the Archangel Michael,

portraits of the Apostles Peter and Paul and icons of the Apostle Paul, Saint Luke the Evangelist, Bishop Abraham, Saint Gregory Palamas, Bishop Nicholas the Miracle-Worker of Myra, Saint Basil the Great and the Great Martyr Saint George, Saint Sergios of Radonezh, Saint Symeon Stylites, Saint Makarios of Unsha and the Yellow Waters, Saint Demetrios of Thessalonike, the Great Martyrs Saint Paraskeve Piatznitza and Saint George and the Dragon, the Holy Prophet Elijah in the Desert, form another core or iconographic subject matter. Collective icons and the principal festivals are analyzed. Beautifully illustrated are the Birth of the Holy Virgin, the Raising of the Cross, the Protection of the Mother of God, the Presentation of the Holy Virgin in the Temple, the Nativity of Christ, the Baptism of the Lord or Epiphany, the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, the Annunciation, the Raising of Lazarus, the Entry into Jerusalem, the Cross, the Resurrection, the Descent into Hell, the Spice-Bearing Women in the Sepulchre, Mid-Pentecost, the Ascension of Our Lord, Pentecost, the Holy Trinity, the Descent of the Holy Spirit, the Transfiguration, and the Dormition of the Mother of God. There are indices of the places and the illustrations, and a brief bibliography.

Certainly *The Meaning of Icons* is a rich source for understanding the Orthodox Christian icon. Ouspensky emphasizes that "Christianity is the revelation not only of the Word of God but also of the Image of God, in which His Likeness is revealed. This godlike image is the distinctive feature of the New Testament, being the visible witness of the deification of man" (p. 48). In a similar way, *theosis* or deification of man is a distinctive feature of the Orthodox icon.

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Art and Ritual of the Byzantine Church. By Christopher Walter. Preface by Robin Cormack. London: Variorum Publications Ltd., 1982. Pp. 249 + 66 illustrations. Hardcover £28.00.

Cyril Mango has stated that "as distinct from its appreciation, which is now widespread, a proper understanding of Byzantine art in its development and its connection with historical and social factors has not yet been fully achieved." Christopher Walter claims, and justifiably so, that this study "is an attempt to remedy this deficiency" (p. 239). The book goes even further. Its underlying purpose is to discover and reconstruct the "sign language" which Byzantine artists used "to express the salient elements of the conception of the sacred" (p. 1).

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The New Origen, *Peri Pascha*

THOMAS HALTON

THIS PAPER WILL CONCERN ITSELF with the contents, interpretation and date of the new Origen, *Peri Pascha*.¹ For those not yet familiar with the *editio princeps*, 1979, of a Toura papyrus discovered in 1941, the contents can be quickly outlined. There is a preliminary definition of 'Pascha' = Phas,² which for reasons of euphony was Hellenized to pascha, but is not derived from paschein 'as many, if not most of the brethren think' (1.1-2.19). This Pascha, *diabasis*, the crossing from Egypt through the Red Sea, was preceded by the law about sacrificing a sheep, as recounted in Exodus 12.2-11, here summarized (2.19-3.27).

Then begins the κατὰ λέξιν ἐξηγήσεις of the Exodus passage which Origen promised at the outset.

12.2a "This month is the beginning of months,"

.2b "This month is for you, i.e., Moses and Aaron"

A long discussion (six folios) follows on the difference between 'beginning' (ἀρχή) and 'first' (πρῶτος), very similar to the discussion in *Commentary on John*³ (7.14-12.21). Next, four folios are devoted to the

* A paper read at the first independent meeting of the North American Patristic Society, Chicago, May, 1981.

¹Origène, *Sur la Pâque. Traité inédit d'après un papyrus de Toura* par O. Guéraud et P. Nautin (Paris, 1979). The papyrus consists of 50 folios, reproduced here a folio per page. Citations are by folio and line; lines with a minus sign are counted from the bottom of the folio where there is a lacuna in the body of the folio.

²For the same definition elsewhere in Origen, cf. *Cont. Cels.* 8.22: "He who considers that Christ our Passover was sacrificed for us (cf. 1 Cor 5.7) and that it is his duty to keep the feast by eating of the flesh of the Word, never ceases to keep the paschal feast; for pascha means passover, and he is ever striving in all his thoughts, words and deeds to pass over from the things of this life to God, and is hastening towards the city of God." Similarly, in Philo the Pascha is a passover, a passage from the life of the passions to virtuous living; cf. *Legum all.* 111.94, 165; *Quis rerum* 225, *De sac. Ab.* 63. On the Jewish passover, cf. Josephus, *Antiq.* 11.311 (Loeb C1 Lib., ed. Thackeray, 4, 300): ὁθεν νῦν ἐτι κατὰ τὸ ἔθος οὕτως θύομεν τὴν ἑορτὴν πάσχα καλοῦντες, σημαίνει δ' ὑπερβασία....

³Cf. E. Fruchtel, "'Αρχή und das Johanneskommentars des Origines," *StudPat* 14 (= TU 117) (Berlin, 1976) 122-44.

theme—the Pascha is a figure not of the Passion, but of Christ himself (12.22-16.4).

There follows a brief resumé of how the Hebrews celebrate the visible Pasch (αἰσθητόν) contrasted with the true sheep, Christ (τὸ ἀληθινὸν πρόβατον) (16.5-17.2).

The spiritual meaning of “take it on the 10th day,” and “keep it until the 14th” is next explained, the five intervening days symbolizing the five senses, on all five of which preliminary work is necessary before we can immolate and eat the true Pasch (17.5-21.7).

V.3: “one sheep per house” and v.4: “take it with a neighbor” are next dealt with, but with a considerable lacuna in the text (21.8-22, -8). The neighbor is associated with the New Testament multiplication of loaves, where the crowds sit on the grass in groups (Mk 6.39).

V.5: “perfect, male, one year old,” is easily applied to Christ, the one year being a plenary number brought about by the sun’s annual revolution. V.5b: “taken from either the sheep or goats” is given an interesting hermeneutical twist to which we shall return presently.

V.6-10c: “keep until the 14th, slaughter at evening, smear the doorposts and lintels with blood, eat that same evening, roasted on fire, not raw or boiled in water, the head, feet and entrails, leave nothing until morning, what is left till morning is to be burned”—each of these details is given an exegesis sequentially over the next eight folios (24.6-34, 31), all in terms of the true sheep, Christ, whose flesh is interpreted in terms of sacred Scripture rather than Eucharist, very much in the style of *Commentary on John*⁴ and in accordance with Origen’s general hermeneutical principle that historical facts are types and symbols of intelligible realities.

The next five folios are concerned with the manner of eating the Pasch described in Exodus 12.11: “loins girt, sandals on feet, staff in hand,” the staff being seen as a symbol of correction. The first book ends at 39.7 with a colophon in the text ΩΡΙΓΕΝΟΥΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΠΑΣΧΑ, α.

The second book, β, only begins at 39.9 and occupies the concluding eleven folios. It begins from the principle that the Pasch was not merely an historical event celebrated but once by the sons of Israel, but a type meant to be fulfilled continually down to the present for our spiritual edification. The Scripture account is an ἐπιστήμη; it has an epistemological dimension, probing the invisible realities, God and the soul. Christ is the suffering servant, the lamb of God, accomplishing in plenitude the will of the Father. We are migrants from the region of darkness and sin, Egypt. The power of God’s salvation is realized in Christ who has given us adoptive sonship (υἰοθεσία) in virtue of his being led as a sheep to the slaughter. We are like migrants returning to the

⁴Cf. J.N. Rowe, “Origen’s Conception of Christ as the Paschal Lamb,” *Stud Evang* 5 (= *TU* 103) (1968) 311-16.

fatherland. We eat in haste for it is the Pasch of the Lord, the passage first from Eden to disobedience and death, but for the second passage (48) the gates are asked to raise high the lintels that the king of glory may enter (Ps 23.7-9).

Interpretation

We know that Origen heard Hippolytus preach in the reign of Zephyrinus (Eus.*h.e.* 6.14.10, Jerome *de vir ill* 61), and Nautin regards the lost *Περὶ τοῦ Πάσχα* of Hippolytus,⁵ which can be dated post 222 A.D., as the major source of Origen, *Peri Pascha*. It is equally clear that he does not accept Cantalamessa's reassignment of his so-called ps.-Hippolytus, in *s. Pascha*, to a second-century Anonymous Quartodeciman of Asia Minor.⁶ And he remains unconvinced of the authenticity of Melito, *Peri Pascha*,⁷ despite the ΜΕΛΙΤΩΝΟΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΠΑΣΧΑ which appears in two colophons on Papyrus Bodmer, 13, edited by M. Testuz in 1960, and in the unpublished Mississippi Coptic Codex, though he accepts Origen as author of the present *PP* on the evidence of the colophons ΩΡΙΓΕΝΟΥΣ, ΠΕΡΙ ΠΑΣΧΑ α, β on the Toura papyrus.

Nautin feels (p. 110) that the publication of the now lost Hippolytus, *On the Pasch*, ca. 222 A.D., best explains the double preoccupation of Origen in his *Peri Pascha*:

(1) to prove that Pasch means passage, *diabasis*, not passion, as it is wrongly derived in Melito, *PP* 46 and in the ps.-Hippolytus, 34. On (1) it may be enough to point out that the correct etymology of Pasch was available to any reader of Philo, *Life of Moses*, 2.224; and Origen had

⁵Cf. August Strobel, *Ursprung und Geschichte des frühchristlichen Osterkalenders* (= TU 121) (Berlin, 1977) pp. 122-33. Eusebios, in his description of Hippolytus, *Peri tou Pascha* (*h.e.* 6.22, SC 41.122, and Notes 1 and 2) says that in it he worked out a system of dates and suggested a scheme for a sixteen-year cycle for Easter, relating his dates to the first year of Alexander's reign. There is no hint of this concern for dates in Origen, *PP.*, though in the *Commentary on John* he says that "a fitter occasion than the present will occur for inquiring as to the time of the passover which took place about the spring equinox, and for any other inquiry that may arise in connection with it." The "fitter occasion" may have been his lost work *De pascha omeliae* 8 (Jerome, *ep.* 33).

⁶P. Nautin, ed., *Homélies pascales*, 1, SC 27; R. Cantalamessa, *L'omelia 'In S. Pascha' dello Ps.-Ippolito di Roma*, (Milano, 1967). For a fresh attempt to reassign the work to one or other Hippolytus, cf. V. Loi, "L'omelia in S. Pascha di Ippolito di Roma," *Augustinianum* 17 (1977) 461-84.

On the statue of Hippolytus, see now M. Guarducci, "La statua di 'sant 'Ippolito' in Vaticano," *RPAA* 47 (1974-75) 163-90.

⁷Ce traité de Méliton n'est pas venu jusqu'à nous.... Mais, comme il est arrivé pour d'autres traités anciens, un inconnu en a fait plus tard un remaniement sous la forme d'une homélie, *Origène, sur la Pâque*, p. 97. For the influence of Melito on Hippolytus, cf. M. Richard, 'on a remarque une certain parenté de son exégèse typologique avec celle de Méli-tion de Sardes,' art. 'Hippolyte,' *DictSpir* 7.1 (1969) 534.

read Philo⁸ before he ever met or read Hippolytus. It was also available in Clement, *Stromata*.⁹ The Pesak = διάβασις turns up again in Gregory of Nazianzos' final homily;¹⁰ and this, with many other similarities, leads the present writer to believe, as he hopes to show elsewhere, in its dependence on Origen, *PP*. Gregory's point in introducing the definition is, in his words, "It may be as well for the scholars and lovers of learning if I say a few words about the word 'pascha' itself." As there were few scholars in his congregation in the rural Arianzos, Gregory is clearly introducing the Hebrew definition *eruditionis causa*; and Origen may be doing nothing more. Gregory's phrase τοῖς φιλομαθέσι καὶ φιλοκάλοις bears a striking resemblance to the φιλαφρόνων καὶ φιλομαθῶν whom Origen urges in his peroration (50) to meditate on his brief remarks. To strengthen the possibility that Origen's motivation in introducing the etymology is erudition, not polemics, is his own remark, "if any of the brethren too precipitously derives it from the Hebrews from *paschein*, he will be a laughing-stock." ¹¹

(2) His second preoccupation, according to Nautin, was to show that the Pasch is not a figure of the Passion, but of Christ himself. Nautin holds that this theme enjoys an important role in the *PP* which it does not have in the *Commentary on John*. In saying this he conveniently ignores two very important sentences in the *Commentary*:¹² (a) c.13, "This, then, in brief, is the interpretation of the Passover sacrificed for us, which is Christ, in accordance with the view taken of it by the Apostles, and with the Lamb in the Gospel"; and (b) c.14, "As for Herakleon, he says, 'This (i.e., the Jewish passover) is the great festival; for it was a type of the passion of the Savior.' "—Which might mean that Origen's target, if he has a target, is Gnostic, not quarteodeciman.

There is, however, another locus overlooked by Nautin, Justin, *Dialog with Trypho*, c. 40,¹³ which has a clear statement of the two typologies which are seen by Nautin at odds:

(1) The mystery of the lamb which God ordered you to sacrifice as the Passover was truly a type of Christ,

and a little further on in the same chapter:

⁸For Philo's pervasive influence on Origen, cf. *Origène, Comm. sur l'Évangile selon Matthieu*, t.1. SC 162, 104-05 and refs.

⁹*Stromata* 2.11, 51 (GCS 2.140, ANF 2.359) quoting Philo, *De congr. erud. gr.* 106, παντὸς πάθους καὶ παντὸς αἰσθητοῦ διάβασις.

¹⁰PG 36.624-64. For an English translation, cf. NPNF, 2nd ser., 7.422-34. See Quasten, *Patrology* 3.243.

¹¹For Origen's early exchanges with the Jews, cf. N.R.M. de Lange, *Origen and the Jews* (Cambridge, 1976) pp. 20-28, 94-95, esp. "It very much sounds as if Origen himself had been made to learn this lesson the hard way, and to put right his ideas about the etymology of *pascha*," and 190, n.33. See also, B. Lifshitz, "Caesarea," *ANRW* 11, 8 (1978) 490-518.

¹²Bk. 10, ANF 9, 391, SC 157.448, 452.

¹³PG 6.561, ANF 1.214, 215.

Moreover, that lamb which you were ordered to roast whole was a symbol of Christ's passion on the cross.

So the two typologies are by no means a new problem.

Finally, there is nothing new in the typology Pascha = Christ. To take just one random sample, Melito, 32:

Angel, tell me, what deterred you:
the slaughter of the sheep,
or the life of the Lord,
the blood of the sheep,
or the spirit of the Lord?

You were plainly deterred, recognizing
the mystery of the Lord
enacted in the sheep,
the life of the Lord
in the slaughter of the sheep,
the figure of the Lord
in the death of the sheep.

It is indubitable that Origen had access to Melito, *PP*, at least as mediated through the *Peri tou Pascha* of Clement, now unfortunately lost apart from fragments (GCS, Clemens, Bd. 111, 216-18), but described for us twice in Eusebios: In his work *Περὶ τοῦ πάσχα* he declares that his friends insisted on his transmitting to later generations in writing the oral traditions (ἀκκηκῶς παραδόσεις) that had come down to him from the earliest presbyters of the Church; he refers also to Melito, Irenaios and some others whose accounts (διηγήσεις) he has reproduced, Eus. h.e. 6.13. 9. More specifically at 6.26.4 Eusebios tells us that Clement said that his own work was composed (συντάξαι) ἐξ αἰτίας τῆς τοῦ Μελίτωνος γραφῆς.

Date

Nautin's terminus a quo is Bk. 10 of the *Commentary on John* which he dates 234-35.¹⁴ He further feels that the *Commentary on Matthew*¹⁵ is later than *PP*, basing this on a exegetical blooper in *PP*, folios 23 and 24, where Origen says: "Perhaps we can see the same distinction (i.e., be-

¹⁴Nautin, in his *Origène: sa vie et son oeuvre* (Paris, 1977) p. 377, feels that Book 6 was dictated a little after Origen's installation at Caesarea, 234/235; Book 10 he would date later than 234/235, and *PP* "vient encore après." Cecile Blanc, ed., *Origène Commentaire sur Saint Jean*, t.1, SC 120 (1966), writes (p.8): "L'In Joannem est une des premières oeuvres d'Origène," citing Eusebios, h.e. 6.21, 3-4, 23.1.

¹⁵On the date of the *Commentary on Matthew*, cf. R. Girod, ed., *Origène, Commentaire sur l'Évangile selon Matthieu*, t.1, SC 162 (Paris, 1970) pp. 7-13, esp. "a certainement été composé entre 244 et 249."

tween sheep and kids) in the Savior's feeding two groups of his followers, not with the same kind of loaves, but with different kinds: for one group he broke five loaves of wheat; for the other, seven loaves of barley, the wheat being for the sinless and more spiritually advanced, the barley for the more numerous ones who were still under the yoke of sin, being bestial and non-spiritual (διὰ τὸ κτηνωδῶς καὶ μήπω λογικῶς)."

The trouble with Origen's distinction is that there is no basis in the synoptic texts of the second multiplication of loaves to call them 'barley' (Mt 15.32, Mk 8.1). John has only one multiplication (6.9), but inconveniently for Origen it records five barley loaves. Nautin claims that Origen corrects these errors in *Commentary on Matthew* where admittedly he does say:

It must be observed, however, that while in Matthew, Mark and Luke, the disciples, say that they have five loaves without indicating whether they are of wheat or barley, whereas John alone says they were of barley (*Commentary on Matthew* 11.2 [SC 162.270, cf. 11.9, 382]).

In the opinion of the present writer, the discrepancy can be more simply explained as a *lapsus linguae* of an eager young homilist; and *quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus* can be invoked in homiletics where it would be quite unacceptable in hermeneutics. In a word, the arguments for dating *PP* between the *Commentaries* on John and Matthew are not convincing. Nautin dates the *Peri Pascha* between 235 and 248, and nearer the latter than the former, giving a circiter, 245, when Origen was already sixty years old. In my opinion, *pace* Nautin, the *Peri Pascha* should be dated thirty years earlier to that period in Origen's life immediately after his visit to the ruler of Arabia described as follows by Eusebios:

Some time later violence erupted in Alexandria, (ἀναρριπιοσθέντος πολέμου)¹⁶ so he slipped out of Alexandria and went to Palestine where he settled in Caesarea. There he gave public lectures in the church on biblical exegesis (διαλέγεσθαι τὰς τε θείας ἐρμηνεύειν γραφὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς ἐκκλησίας) at the invitation of the bishops of the province, though not yet ordained to the presbyterate. (Eus. *h.e.* 6.19.16).

It is my belief that *Peri Pascha* is a lay homily, delivered by Origen during this first stay in Caesarea (he was not ordained until 231¹⁷ at the invitation of the local bishop, Theoktistos). A joint letter¹⁸ from Theokti-

¹⁶The nature of the outbreak under Caracalla is disputed; cf. M. Hornschuh, "Das Leben des Origenes und die Entstehung der alexandrinischen Schule: ZKG 71 (1960) 1-25.

¹⁷*h.e.* 6.23.

¹⁸On the Paschal controversy, cf. Eusebios, *h.e.* 4.23-25 and P. Nautin, *Lettres et Écrivains Chrétiens des II^e et III^e siècles* (Paris, 1961) c.111. For general background, see

stos of Caesarea and Alexander of Jerusalem to Demetrios, bishop of Alexandria, is extant in which they justify the invitation, again recorded by Eusebios:

He (Demetrios) included in his letter a statement that it was an unheard of, unprecedented thing that, where bishops were present, laymen should preach (λαϊκοὺς ὁμιλεῖν) — a statement that is glaringly untrue. In cases where persons are found duly qualified to assist the brethren (πρὸς τὸ ὠφελεῖν τοὺς ἀδελφούς) they are called on by holy bishops to preach to the laity (τῷ λαῷ προσομιλεῖν) (and they went on to instance the sees of Laranda, Iconion and Synadda as places which have exercised this prerogative with regard to lay preachers). (Eus., *h.e.* 6.19.)

We know, too, that Demetrios was only half convinced; for with that special vigilance which local ordinaries reserved for excessively popular lay theologians or charismatic intellectuals,¹⁹ to quote a recent apt designation, he recalled Origen to Alexandria, first by letter and then by sending deacons after him. And Origen dutifully and docilely returned. The hypothesis of a lay preacher may find support in the text of ΠΠ itself. At 13, Origen concludes that the Pasch is a type of Christ, but not of his Passion. And he goes on:²⁰

For we must immolate the true lamb, if we are priests or, behold, (ἰδοῦ) if we offer for the priests,²¹ and we must roast and eat his flesh. (Is it too farfetched to see ἰδοῦ in the text as deictic?)

If *Peri Pascha* is seen as the work of a layman, it better explains its non-eucharistic,²² non-paschal-vigil ambience in this, so strongly in contrast with its few surviving antecedents, Melito, *Peri Pascha* and the so-called pseudo-Hippolytus, in *s. Pascha*.

bibliography in Wolfgang Huber, *Passa und Ostern* (Berlin, 1969) pp. 235-46. See also Herbert Hagg, *Vom alten zum neuen Pascha. Geschichte und Theologie des Osterfestes* (Stuttgart, 1971), esp. 22-28, for the etymology of πάσχα.

¹⁹ Joseph W. Trigg, "The Charismatic Intellectual: Origen's Understanding of Religious Leadership," *Church History* 50 (1981) 5-19.

²⁰ ἐὰν ἱερω[θῶ]μεν ἢ ἰδοῦ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν [πρὸς] ἐνέγκωμεν. Nautin translates: "Il nous faut en effet immoler le véritable agneau, que nous ayons été ordonné prêtres, ou que nous soyons semblables aux prêtres"; cf. *Exhort ad mart* 30 (GCS 1.27). Eating the flesh of the Word is Origen's usual conception of celebrating the Pasch; cf. *Hom. in Numb* 23, 6 (SC 29.448-49). Important for Philo is the thought that alone on the fourteenth day of the first month at the public festival, called Pasch in Hebrew, the victims are not brought to the altar by the laity and sacrificed by the priests, but as commanded by the law the whole nation acts as priest (ἱεράται), cf. *Vit Mos* 2.224, *Spec. leg.* 2.145.

²¹ A complete study of Origen's concept of sacrifice is a pressing desideratum; cf. R.J. Daly, "Sacrifice in Origen," *StudPat* 11 (= TU 108) 125-29.

²² For the possibility of a non-eucharistic celebration, cf. Socrates, *h.e.* 5.22: "At Alexan-

It also better explains the anomaly of the absent doxology at the end, a characteristic, as Crouzel has recently shown,²³ which is of the essence of Origen's regular homilies. The late date, by contrast, requires the rather awkward presumption that Origen had already finished preaching homilies at the time of composition.

The early date also brings the work closer in time and place to the Quartodeciman controversy and its attendant concentration on the Paschal mystery. A synod in Palestine, presided over by Theophilus of Caesarea and Narkissos of Jerusalem, had helped to resolve the controversy, if we are to trust their encyclical letter recorded in Eusebios, *h.e.* 5.25;²⁴ and there was agreement between the Palestinians and Alexandria on the day of celebration. So it seems both unnecessary and wrong to regard the present work as intervening polemically in the Quartodeciman controversy, which, in a sense, Origen may have seen from the outset as closed. Of the ambiguous phrase in Eusebios concerning Clement of Alexandria's *Peri Pascha* being written "ostensibly because of Melito's," Stuart Hall does well to point out²⁵ that the expression "because of" need not imply that Clement was attacking Melito; and even if it does, the disagreement might have been exegetical rather than liturgical. It seems here, too, that any rumbles of disagreement in Origen, *Peri Pascha*, are likewise best seen as exegetical rather than liturgical.

dria again, on Wednesday and Friday, the Scriptures are read and the teachers expound them, and all the usual services are performed in the assembly, except the celebration of the mysteries." This practice in Alexandria is of great antiquity, for it appears that Origen most commonly taught in the church on those days (PG 67.636). Socrates goes on to say that Origen gave a spiritual, anagogical interpretation of the Pasch in place of the literal interpretation in the law of Moses, declaring that there has always been but one true Pasch. With this should be compared Origen *PP* 13.23-35.

²³H. Crouzel, "Les doxologies finales des homélies d'Origène selon le texte grec et les versions latines," *Augustinianum* 20 (1980) 95-107.

²⁴On the danger of anachronism in Eusebios, cf. N. Brox, "Tendenzen und Parteilichkeiten im Osterfeststreit des zweiten Jahrhunderts," *ZKG* 83 (1972), 291-324.

²⁵*Melito of Sardis, On Pascha and Fragments*, ed. Stuart G. Hall (Oxford, 1979) pp. xx-xxi.

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REVIEWS

The Nicene Creed. Our Common Faith. By Emilianos Timiadis. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983. Pp. 128. \$6.95 Paper.

“The value of a creed lies not only in its universal acceptance, but its value becomes visible in the sufferings that churches endure and in the martyrs who uphold the confession of the faith. The Orthodox churches, rich in martyrs and abundant in suffering, demonstrate the power of the Creed of Constantinople,” writes Gerhard Krodel, Dean of the Lutheran Theological Seminary in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, in the Foreword of this book. However, if this sensitive and gracious ecumenical statement implies that the Nicene Creed is a confession of a certain historical local church, this is neither the way the author treats the subject, nor the essential message of the book. The subtitle, *Our Common Faith*, makes the focus of the book abundantly clear. The creed is treated here not as an ideology that has endured “the catastrophes that swept over the Orthodox Church,” but as substratum and the gist of the Christian faith itself.

The contribution of the book is to be found primarily in its daring ecumenical honesty and its refreshing theological articulation. The author, the representative of the Ecumenical Patriarchate to the World Council of Churches and Chairman of the Orthodox Delegation to the bilateral discussions with the Lutheran World Federation, makes himself recognizable to an Orthodox, and attractive and challenging to a non-Orthodox reader alike; a significant testimony to the fact that ecumenical experience and dialogue does not dilute but, if it is learned and open, one sharpens one’s own theological reflections of one’s interlocutor.

The author does not treat the Nicene Creed as an item of systematic theology or as a chapter of the history of doctrines, but rather as an expression of the living faith and experience of the Christian Church, then and now, and as “an undivided whole.” After all, what we call “creed” is actually *horos*, the “fence” or the “border” within which faith is cultivated and explored. Thus, this short book contains more than its title states and it says more than its pages hold. The author integrates responses, challenges and critiques on a variety of issues such as intercommunion, authority, episcopacy, conciliarity, *filioque*, ecclesiology, the person of the Holy Spirit; and he challenges that ecumenical gestures and trends be accompanied by substantive changes rather than cosmetics. Is, for example, the Roman Catholic Church ready—beyond the temporary omission of the *filioque* from the Creed—to allow its entire theology and

life to be “plunged again into the doctrine of the Holy Spirit” (p. 126), or are we ready for a new creed, and “can such an incoherent, heterogenous assembly produce, for the sake of unity, a satisfying text” (p. 125)? From this point of view, the book makes a concise contribution to the ecumenical dialogue. As it tackles also issues of modern concerns, such as secular thinking towards God, spiritual values, the world and its forces, man, institutions, justice, social activism, pollution, etc., the book becomes at times a social commentary by an Orthodox theologian. As the author sees a sharp “difference between talking about Jesus in a new way and talking about a new Jesus” (p. 126), he maintains consistently the former assertion in his reflections.

This reviewer might have some reservations on matters of style, but only a few—and these secondary—on matters of substance. For example, the statement that “Humility and *kenosis* are needed in studying the Creed” (p. 30), sounds rather sermonic, which tends to obscure the fact that the Creed was dictated by concrete historical necessities and it was articulated, intentionally, to be simple and broad in order to be easily comprehended and used by the faithful populace. Originally, it was not even part of the Liturgy or of the theological writing. The fact that the Nicene Creed, in its simplicity and comprehensiveness, does not represent the basis of *Our Common Faith*, is a sad commentary on the Christian community, rather than on the notions of the creed.

Secondly, on page 116, the author seems to equate worship with prayer, when he writes: “Thus we have corporate worship. We never pray alone, isolated.” Even in context, read by a non-Orthodox reader, this emphatic sentence conveys the wrong information and impression. The spirituality of the Orthodox Church has cultivated equally, corporate *as well as* individual prayer, even in a variety of ways!

Thirdly, on page 119, the third line of the Advent hymn has, I think, been inaccurately rendered. It should be:

Christ is born; glorify Him.

Christ comes from heaven; (come out and) welcome Him

Christ is now on earth; lift up yourselves (ὠψώθητε)

(instead of, “go out to meet Him”),

in order to contrast the descending and the humility of God to the ascending of man.

A point of a more general concern is that the author has limited his sources of reference to the Fathers of the early Church and to the Orthodox Liturgy; something which might assist to perpetuate the myth by non-Orthodox that the sources of reference of Orthodox thinking are certain

Fathers of the East, of a particular era, and of the far past. The breadth and the unity in diversity of Orthodoxy, not only in terms of articulate writings, but also in terms of its living reality in traditional geographical settings, and, even more so, in the diaspora, are not evidently manifested.

Matters of style are nonessential, but if communication is the foremost purpose of a book of this kind, these might need special attention: The sentences, "patristics do not abolish human intelligence," (p. 22), and "patristics understands God's way not through the philosophical methods of Plato . . ." (p. 36), are confusing. A more proper expression should have been, "The patristic way of thinking . . ." Also the frequent use of Greek words, simply in a transliterated form (for example, *synkatabasis*, *parakatatheke*, *pseudodidaskalia*, *physis theotetos*, *ideotes*, *adiaphora*, *kaine ktisis*, *stichera*, *enanthropisis*, *epiklesis*, *pneumatophores* (sic), *anamnesis*, *christosoteria*, *kat' oikonomian* etc.), without translation or explanation, must prove disconcerting to a non-Greek speaking reader. Also, whole phrases from Basil (p. 52)), John of Damascus (p. 79) and Methodius of Olympus (pp. 82-83) which are simply transliterated, ought to have been translated or placed in the footnotes. There is an inconsistency in the way of referring to patristic literature. Some titles are given in English, others (most of them) in Latin, and a few of them in transliterated Greek (for example, "Ecthesis" and "Typos" on p. 66). A quotation from Photios is given in transliterated Greek, but the reference to the writing is in Latin (p. 122, n. 138). For some writings there is reference to an edition (exclusively to PG), while for others there is not. And a last minor point: As long as the word "deification" has been used elsewhere (p. 77) and the word *theosis* has repeatedly been employed and the notion laboriously presented and interpreted several times in the book, the use of the words "divinization" (p. 73), "divinized" (p. 74), and "divinizing" (p. 83) is at least disruptive.

I called this book "daring" not only because it exposes a certain theological naiveté, relativization and inconsistency in modern Christian thinking, but also because it takes unpopular stands graciously and eloquently, as well as because it calls for intellectual orientations which modern man has rejected as folly! "We ought to live it (the dogma) in such a way that, instead of assimilating the mystery to our manner of understanding, we have to undergo a deep change through it—an inward transformation that will make us ready for mystical experience" (p. 88). One can only hope that no serious and ecumenical-minded reader will respond to this challenge in the way of the Athenians of old: "We will hear you again about this . . ."

Daniel Sahas
University of Waterloo

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piece of critical work on the Logos on the Translation of the Relics of Athanasios. We can only look forward with great anticipation to Dr. Talbot's future contributions.

Faith Healing in Late Byzantium is highly recommended to Byzantine and Church historians who will find this a valuable contribution to the history of the Church in the fourteenth century.

J. L. Boojamra
Saint Vladimir's

The Place of Blessed Augustine in the Orthodox Church. By Seraphim Rose. Introduction by Alexey Young. California: Saint Herman of Alaska Press, 1982. Paperbound. Pp. 45 + addenda.

In certain ultra-conservative Orthodox circles in the United States, there has developed an unfortunate bitter and harsh attitude toward one of the great Fathers of the Church, the blessed (Saint) Augustine of Hippo (354-430 A.D.). These circles, while clearly outside the mainstream of Orthodox thought and careful scholarship, have often been so vociferous and forceful in their statements that their views have touched and even affected more moderate and stable Orthodox believers and thinkers. Not a few writers and spiritual aspirants have been disturbed by this trend. So it is that I am absolutely delighted to have a copy of Father Seraphim's small, but powerful, tome on the significance and status of Saint Augustine in the Orthodox Church. His book is particularly significant since it comes from the pen of a spiritual writer, who, before his untimely death in 1982, was a chief advocate of moderation and careful, charitable thinking about the Church and her Fathers among some of the most conservative Orthodox elements in this country—an advocacy that earned him, more often than not, the flat condemnation of the ultra-conservative factionalists mentioned above.

It is certainly true that, in terms of classical Orthodox thought on the subject, Saint Augustine placed grace and human free will at odds, if only because his view of grace was too overstated and not balanced against the Patristic witness as regards the efficacy of human choice and spiritual labor. Likewise, as an outgrowth of his understanding of grace, Augustine developed a theory of predestination that further distorted the Orthodox understanding of free will. And finally, Augustine's *theology* proper, his understanding of God, in its mechanical, overly logical, and rationalistic tone, leads one, to some extent, away from the mystery of God—which is lost, indeed, in Saint Augustine's failure to capture fully the very mystery of man. About these general shortcomings in Augustinian thought there can be no doubt. And it is with these precise weaknesses in mind that Father

Seraphim formulates his understanding of Augustine's place in Orthodoxy.

Father Seraphim convincingly argues, with a multitude of primary references, that, while Augustine's ideas may have been used and distorted in the West to produce more modern theories (such as Calvinistic predestination, *sola gratia*, or even deism), the Saint himself was not guilty of the kind of innovative theologizing that his more extreme detractors would claim he championed. Indeed, Father Seraphim shows that Augustine never denied the free will of the individual; that his view of grace was one which, in later years, largely through the influence of his Western contemporaries, he felt compelled to revise; and that his understanding of God, despite his overly logical approach to theology, was derived from a deeply Orthodox encounter with the Trinity—something which a passing interest in his *Confessions* would aver. Attached to his argument for a moderate understanding of Saint Augustine are gleanings from Father Seraphim's study of the Patristic reaction to Augustine. To a number, the great Fathers of the Church whom he cites count Augustine among the great Fathers, qualifying their praise with precisely the words of the author of this little book: that Saint Augustine wrote from an Orthodox heart and with an Orthodox mind, but erred in expressing himself with too much dependence on human logic and philosophical rigor, thus exposing his teaching to later gross distortions, making his small errors great ones.

What is most impressive about this book is that one can see clearly that Father Seraphim has *read*. This may startle some of my readers, but it is an important point. I have been reading the Fathers for almost twenty years, and every extreme statement that I read on this or that Patristic figure or witness rings a certain bell in me. Almost without exception, this polemical literature begins with an exposition of what is 'wrong' with a person or issue, never weighing against this the positive elements. I have come to understand that this is simply because these polemicists do not, in fact, have a reading knowledge of the Fathers; they have gleaned from indices and secondary sources, controversial material, which they then proceed to attack, never having read this material in context. Moreover, their polemical tone and ugly treatment of often sincere figures belie the spirit of charity and gentleness which is so much more present in the Fathers than the occasional (though necessary) outbursts of righteous indignation.

I recently read a 'first draft' of a work by one of the ultra-conservative theologians whom Father Seraphim tries to answer in his little book. Though this theologian is hailed as "the foremost Orthodox thinker of this time," he is unknown outside his own circles. His grasp of basic English is abominably poor, and his writings have the telltale signs of the kind of selective reading I mention above. I am sure that this man is wholly sincere, but as I compared his work to that of Father Seraphim, I began

to see that he had depersonalized his subjects, making great Fathers of the Church nothing but cold, stone figures. What Seraphim has done in this small book is to personalize Saint Augustine—to bring a man, a human being, before us, demonstrating to us how the greatness of God, nonetheless, worked through the littleness of the man (if, indeed, we can but rhetorically call so great a man as Augustine ‘little’). It is this personal element which commends Father Seraphim’s book to the Orthodox believer and the Orthodox scholar alike.

I might lastly add that the Introduction to this book, by Father Alexey Young, is a useful piece of writing in itself. With an almost ‘pastoral’ tone, it sets the stage for Father Seraphim’s scholarly drama—and that is just what the book is: a drama. It brings to life a character and, in so doing, throws a shadow of grave doubt over the writings of those who would make the ‘divine Augustine,’ as Saint Mark of Ephesus calls him, the Father of heresies and the source of all Western error. In fact, the shadow throws not only doubt, but unbelief.

I highly recommend this excellent book to anyone interested in a fair and profound view of the great Father Augustine of Hippo.

Archimandrite Chrysostomos
Center for Traditionalist Orthodox Studies
Etna, California

The Meaning of Icons. By Leonid Ouspensky and Vladimir Lossky. Translated by G. E. H. Palmer and E. Kadloubovsky. Foreword by Titus Burckhardt. Crestwood, New York: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1982. Revised Edition. Pp. 222 (including 160 pages of texts with drawings, 13 black and white and 51 full color plates). Linen-cloth \$35.00, Paper-bound \$22.50.

The Meaning of Icons has become something of a classic work in Orthodox iconography. The reissuance of a second revised edition with sixteen new plates and a larger number of color illustrations with an appropriately modified text is a welcome event thirty years after the original publication. If anything, interest in the subject matter has grown and the essays on “Tradition and Traditions” by Vladimir Lossky (pp. 11-22); and the “The Meaning and Language of Icons” (pp. 25-49); and “The Technique of Iconography” (pp. 53-55) by Leonid Ouspensky are as valid and as illuminating today as they were when they were originally written. The bulk of the book is, of course, the “The Explanation of the Main Types of Icons,” providing a really impressive introduction to the proper study of Orthodox icons which “are expressions of the inexpressible, and have

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†The Right Reverend Alexander Schmemmann
(September 13, 1921-December 13, 1983)



FATHER ALEXANDER SCHMEMMANN, Dean of St. Vladimir's Theological Seminary, Professor of Liturgical Theology and outstanding leader there for more than twenty years, died peacefully last December. He was born in Estonia of Russian parentage and educated in France. He started his teaching career at St. Sergius Theological Institute, arriving in the United States in 1951 to teach at St. Vladimir's Seminary, where he remained until his death.

Father Alexander taught his last class in liturgical theology two weeks before his death and celebrated his last Divine Liturgy on Thanksgiving

Day in the seminary chapel. In his sermon at the end, "Thank you O Lord," he gave thanks "for the sufferings you bestowed upon us, for they are purifying us from selfishness and remind us of the 'one thing needed': Your eternal Kingdom."

Father Alexander lived his life in diaspora, and his concern and interest was primarily to nourish the Orthodox Church outside its traditional borders. Very much at home in Russian, French and English, he used them all in the service of his church. Many who joined the Orthodox Church in this country bear witness to his outstanding ability to present and interpret the very spirit of the church, its worship and theology. He was well-known to students in colleges throughout the country. It is difficult to find any other Orthodox educator who has reached so many young people in American educational institutions as Father Alexander. For many of them, their encounter with him was the starting point for their search and the journey which would end with their becoming members of the church. Some of them have become leaders in Orthodox parishes. Students of Orthodox upbringing and their elders as well, those who have been devoted to the church all their lives, received Father Alexander enthusiastically and responded warmly to his clear, inspiring yet critical presentation of the present and the future possibilities of the Orthodox Church.

His theology was rooted in and inspired by liturgical experience. I remember a conversation with him at the end of a student conference at Oberlin College in 1968. He was in a joyful mood, as he always was after reaching so many people, and then again he turned his thoughts to the church and its place in the life of its members. "I don't know what I would do with my life without the Eucharist," he observed. "I simply can't imagine my life without it." The Eucharist was the center of his writings as well. He wrote that it "is not merely one possible relationship to God. It is rather the only possible holding together—in one moment, in one act—of the *whole* truth about God and man."

His study of and meditation upon the liturgy colored his thinking. He wrote with confidence that Christian faith is eschatological, embracing past, present and future, and apocalyptic, not unduly concerned with the future alone. The present should not be divorced from the future.

His emphasis upon the cosmic, eschatological dimensions and content of Orthodox worship led him to a firm rejection of modern secularism. He repudiated the secular vision of the world as something self-contained, with no meaning outside itself. This view is "a negation of worship," according to Father Alexander. "It is the negation of man as a worshipping being, as *homo adorans*." What we need, he stated, is not a new worship to accommodate new conditions, but a rediscovery of the true meaning and power of worship, of its cosmic, ecclesiological and eschatological dimensions. This requires study, education and effort. It also implies a

return, not to a repetition of what was being said and done in the past, but to its truth and grace. If we return to the source of worship, he emphasized, we see that worship has never neglected or forgotten the world. Worship for him gives meaning and fulfillment to man, to humanity, to the world.

We thank God for Father Alexander. We thank God for giving us such an opportunity to know him and to work with him, and we express our gratitude by remembering him.

Veselin Kesich
St. Vladimir's Seminary

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THE SERMON AND THE LITURGY

GEOFFREY WAINWRIGHT

IN THE FIRST LECTURE I proceeded by way of theological themes, bringing out the character of preaching as doxological, anamnestic, epikletic, and eschatological. Those four aspects combine to characterize Christian worship as such. From preaching *as* liturgy I want now to pass to preaching *in* the liturgy. The point is to place the sermon more precisely in the liturgical structures. Primary evangelization normally takes place outside the liturgy: I have preached in that way, in the open air, in African villages. It is also the case that formal preaching services were known to the Fathers and to the Reformers: John Chrysostom preached his Lenten series and John Calvin, who considered Chrysostom the greatest exegete of either the Greek or the Latin Church, looked to him for the example of continuous exposition of complete books of the Bible.¹ Yet the profoundest sense of the Church is that sermon and eucharist belong together. The Fathers—more perhaps in the West than in the East, though Chrysostom makes the link at least once—spoke of the twin tables of word and sacrament.² The modern liturgical movement is helping both Catholic and Protestant churches to remedy their respective deficiencies in this matter. On the one hand, it is possible to cite both the practical revival of preaching in the Roman Church and a number of studies by Catholic scholars with such titles as “Parole de Dieu et Liturgie,” “La Parole dans la Liturgie,” “The Ministry of the Word,” “Wirkendes Wort.”³ On the

The Saint John Chrysostom Lectures delivered at the Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology, Brookline, November 1982.

¹H. O. Old, *The Patristic Roots of Reformed Worship* (Zurich, 1975), pp. 146, 173f, 188f, 191-193, 194-202.

²See T. Stramare, “‘Mensae duae’: Studio biblico-patristico su S. Scrittura ed Eucaristia” in *Seminarium* 18 (1966), pp. 1020-1034. In Chrysostom the reference is *Homily* 1. 1 on the Betrayal of Judas (PG 49. 373); see Kaczynski, p. 57f.

³*Parole de Dieu et Liturgie* (Paris, 1958); ET *The Liturgy and the Word of God* (Collegeville 1959); B. Botte et al., *La Parole dans la Liturgie* (Paris, 1970); P. Milner (ed.), *The Ministry of the Word* (London, 1967); O. Semmelroth, *Wirkendes Wort* (Frankfurt am Main, 1962; ET *The Preaching Word*, New York 1965).

other hand, the United Methodist Church sets out a pattern of "Word and Table" for Sunday worship, the Consultation on Church Union interprets the service under the title "Word Bread Cup,"⁴ and in fact most of the revised liturgical books of the Protestant churches now state or strongly imply that "the worship of the Church is the offering of praise and prayer in which God's Word is read and preached, and *in its fullness it includes the Lord's Supper, or Holy Communion*" (British Methodist Service Book 1975). I want, then, to locate the sermon within the eucharistic liturgy.

My procedure in this second lecture will be to treat, first of all, three other parts of the liturgy, in each of which the substance of the gospel and of the faith comes to verbal expression in rather fixed and brief forms, with an experiential stress in turn on each of the three divine hypostases (though never doctrinally dividing them), and with different addressees in view in each case. These three parts of the liturgy are the readings from Scripture, the creed, and the anaphora. Then I will turn to the sermon—as the most discursive way in which those three accents and destinations are brought together, and as the action in which the human contribution is at its most demanding; and finally to the holy communion itself, in which the divine gift is at its most direct, dense, and delightful.

The Readings from Scripture

John Chrysostom considered that through the scripture readings the prophets and apostles were speaking with us.⁵ Indeed, through the prophets and the apostles Christ himself is speaking.⁶ John the apostle and evangelist speaks with a voice from heaven; and since John is a friend of the One who has told him all that He himself received from the Father (Jn 15.15), the Lord and the Paraclete are speaking by John.⁷ It is on the gospels that we shall concentrate; for it is in their reading that the Church has most acutely sensed the presence of Christ, as the surrounding ceremonial makes evident. From ancient times, the book of the gospels has been illuminated and bejewelled, and it was housed in its own chest or tabernacle. Byzantine commentators take the "Little Entry" of the priest with the gospel-book to represent the entrance of Christ upon the world at his incarnation, and the concurrent chant of the Trisagion was—

⁴*Word and Table: A Basic Pattern of Sunday Worship for United Methodists* (Nashville, 1976); COCU, *Word Bread Cup* (Cincinnati, 1978).

⁵*Homily 24. 3 on Letter to the Romans*: εἰπέ, τίς προφήτης, ποῖος ἀπόστολος σήμερον διελέχθη ἡμῖν, καὶ περὶ τίνων (PG 60. 625).

⁶See the quotation from *Homily 31 (30). 5 on John* in note 13 below.

⁷*Homily 1. 1-2 on John* (PG 59. 25-27).

according to liturgical scholarship—originally christological in address. The reading of the gospel is traditionally preceded by the singing of Alleluia. Lights, incense, and kisses are the gospel's ceremonial accompaniment. Even sedentary Protestants have taken to standing while the gospel is read. At the announcement of the gospel, the characteristically terse acclamation of the Roman people is "Gloria tibi, Domine"; and at its conclusion, "Laus tibi, Christe." The West Syrian greeting is the same as recurs in the eucharistic anaphora: "Blessed is he who came and is to come," with the addition "Praise be to him who sent him for our salvation." Let us note a couple of prayers preparatory to the reading of the gospel. First from the Coptic liturgy:

Lord Jesus Christ our God, who didst say to the saintly disciples and holy apostles "Many prophets and righteous people have desired to see the things which you see and have not seen them, and to hear the things which you hear and have not heard them; but you, blessed are your eyes for they see and your ears for they hear": make us worthy to hear and to do thy holy gospel through the prayers of thy saints.⁸

And then the East Syrian prayer:

Thee, O Brightness of the glory of thy Father and Image of the person that begat thee, who wast revealed in the body of our manhood and didst enlighten the darkness of our understanding by the light of thy gospel, we bless and worship and glorify at all times, Lord of all. Glory be to the infinite mercy which sent thee unto us, O Christ the light of the world and the life of all for ever. Make us wise by thy law, illuminate our minds by thy knowledge, sanctify our souls by thy truth, and grant us to be obedient to thy words and to fulfil thy commandments at all times, Lord of all.⁹

Charging that the people of Antioch pay less attention in church than they do in the theatre when an imperial decree is being proclaimed, John Chrysostom tells them that during the reading of the lessons they must not make the noise they would on the market place but rather "tremble as though no longer on earth."¹⁰ We must rather "think that Christ

⁸I. H. Dalmis, "Rites et prieres accompagnant les lectures dans la liturgie eucharistique" in *La Parole dans la Liturgie*, pp. 107-19, in particular p. 115; cf. F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, Eastern Liturgies (Oxford, 1896), 1, p. 155.

⁹Dalmis, p. 116; cf. Brightman, p. 258.

¹⁰*Homily 19. 9 on Matthew*: δέον φρίττειν καὶ μὴδὲ ἐπὶ γῆς νομίζειν εἶναι (PG 57. 285f); cf. *Homily 14. 2 on Genesis* (PG 53. 112); *On Those Who Have Abandoned the Assembly of the Church* 1. 2 (PG 51. 69).

himself is now present and saying these things.”¹¹ In face of the inattentive or absent Antiochenes the preacher says: “Christ is even now sitting at the well; he is not speaking with the Samaritan woman but with the whole city. But even now it happens again that he is alone with the Samaritan woman. For once more there is no one else really with him; some are present in body only, the others are totally absent.”¹² In his word, Christ “even now stands in our midst.”¹³ And expressly in connection with his presence in the eucharist: “You see him lying before you; and you even hear his voice, when he speaks through the evangelists.”¹⁴

In sum, the gospels are the vehicle of Christ’s presence and address to the assembled congregation. Through the gospels the Lord once again proclaims his gospel.

Belief in that gospel can be confessed only “in the Holy Spirit”: “No one can say ‘Jesus is Lord’ except by the Holy Spirit” (I Cor 12.3). With that we come to the place of the creed in the liturgy.

The Creed

As is well known, the creed was not introduced into the eucharistic liturgy until the late fifth or early sixth century, whether at Antioch under Peter the Fuller or at Constantinople under Timothy. Thereafter most of the Eastern churches quickly took up this particular use of the Nicene-Constantinopolitan creed—or a variant of it, as among the Armenians

¹¹ *Homily 31. 4 on Letter to the Hebrews*: νομιζωμεν νυν παρῆναι αὐτόν, καὶ λέγειν ταῦτα (PG 63. 218).

¹² *Homily 7. 6 on Matthew* (PG 57. 79f).

¹³ *Homily 31 (30). 5 on John*: Μιμησώμεθα τοίνυν τὴν Σαμαρεῖτιν’ διαλεχθῶμεν τῷ Χριστῷ. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ νῦν μέσος ἡμῶν ἔστηκε, καὶ διὰ τῶν προφητῶν καὶ διὰ τῶν μαθητῶν ἡμῖν φθεγγόμενος (PG 59. 182); cf. *Homily on the Change of Name 4. 1*: Αὕτη ἡ ἡσυχία εἰς φρίκην ἄγει, καὶ διδάσκει φιλοσοφεῖν’ ἀνίστησι τὸ φρόνημα, καὶ οὐκ ἀφίησι μεμνησθαι τῶν παρόντων, μεθίστησί σε ἀπὸ γῆς εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν. Εἰ δὲ χωρὶς συνάξεως τοσοῦτον τὸ κέρδος τῆς ἐνταῦθα παρουσίας, ὅταν προφητᾷ πάντοθεν βοῶσιν, ὅταν ἀποστολοὶ εὐαγγελίζωνται, ὅταν ὁ Χριστὸς ἐν μέσῳ εἰστήκη, ὅταν Πατὴρ ἀποδέχῃται τὰ γινόμενα, ὅταν Πνεῦμα ὄχιον παρέχῃ τὴν οἰκίαν ἀγαλλίασιν, πόσης μὲν ὠφελείας ἐμπλησθέντες οἱ παρόντες ἀπέρχονται! οἱ ἀπόντες δὲ πόσῃν ζημίαν ὑπομένουσιν!

¹⁴ *Homily 50 (51). 2 on Matthew*: ‘Ἄλλ’ ὁρᾷς αὐτὸν κείμενον’ μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ φωνῶν ἀκούεις, φθεγγόμενον αὐτοῦ διὰ τῶν εὐαγγελιστῶν (PG 58. 507). In fact, every liturgical assembly is a feast constituted by the presence of Christ; so *Concerning Anna Homily 5, 1*: Πᾶσα γὰρ σύνοδος ἑορτή. Πόθεν δῆλον τοῦτον; ‘Ἀπ’ αὐτῶν τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ῥημάτων, δι’ ὧν φησὶν· ‘Ὁπου ἂν ᾧσι δύο ἢ τρεῖς συνηγμένοι εἰς τὸ ἐμὸν ὄνομα, ἐκεῖ εἰμι ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν. ‘Ὅταν δὲ ὁ Χριστὸς ἐν μέσῳ ἢ τῶν συνειλεγμένων, ποῖαν ἑτέραν ζητεῖς ἀποδείξιν ἑορτῆς ταύτης μείζονα; ‘Ὁπου διδασκαλία καὶ εὐχαί, ὅπου Πατέρων εὐλογίαὶ καὶ θεῶν νόμων ἀκρόασις, ὅπου σύνοδος ἀδελφῶν καὶ γησιᾶς ἀγάπης σύνδεσμος, ὅπου πρὸς Θεὸν ὁμιλία, καὶ Θεοῦ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους διάλεξις, πῶς οὐκ ἂν εἴη ἑορτή καὶ πανήγυρις; (PG 54. 669).

(though the Nestorians of East Syria preferred to include an old baptismal creed of their own). The creed's first eucharistic appearance in the West occurs in Spain towards the end of the sixth century, but it was not put into the Roman mass until the eleventh century. Its Spanish position is directly before the *Paternoster* and communion; but other rites place the creed somewhere between the proclamation of the word and the beginning of the eucharistic anaphora. In the flow of the Roman mass it functions as a renewed response to the gospel, while in the Byzantine rite it serves to constitute once more the community which will offer the eucharist. In either case, the faith confessed in baptism is now being professed again.¹⁵ Creeds have their original setting in Christian initiation, and the Nicene-Constantinopolitan creed marks the present line between the Church and the world. It expresses the faith which the Church proposes for the world's belief and salvation, and its acceptance signifies membership of the saved and saving community. The address of the creed is to the world, at least in the sense that it reminds believers of the faith by which they entered the Church and which they are now charged to spread among humanity.

Neither as proclamation nor as response can the confession of Christ be made without the Holy Spirit. It was only when the Holy Spirit had come upon them that the disciples could declare the wonderful works of God and become Christ's witnesses to the ends of the earth (Acts 1.8; 2.1-11). The Lord himself had promised the assistance of the Holy Spirit when his followers would testify before governors and kings (Mk 13.9-11); and the Spirit-bearing martyrs have witnessed the best confession to Christianity: "the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church."¹⁶ Faith itself is the gift of the Spirit, as Charles Wesley sings in this pneumatological invocation:

Spirit of faith, come down,
Reveal the things of God;
And make to us the Godhead known,
And witness with the blood.
'Tis thine the blood to apply,
And give us eyes to see
Who did for every sinner die
Hath surely died for me.

¹⁵In preaching on 1 Corinthians 15.29, Chrysostom recalled the faith confessed at baptism in "the resurrection of the dead and the life everlasting" (*Homily* 40. 2 on 1 Corinthians; PG 61. 348f). See J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds* (London, 2nd. ed. 1960), pp. 34, 185, 387f.

¹⁶This popular tag is derived from Tertullian, *Apology* 50: "Plures efficitur quotiens metimur a vobis; semen est sanguis Christianorum" (PL 1. 535).

No man can truly say
 That Jesus is the Lord,
 Unless Thou take the veil away,
 And breathe the living word;
 Then, only then, we feel
 Our interest in His blood,
 And cry, with joy unspeakable:
 Thou art my Lord, my God!

O that the world might know
 The all-atoning Lamb!
 Spirit of faith, descend, and show
 The virtue of His name;
 The grace which all may find,
 The saving power impart;
 And testify to all mankind,
 And speak in every heart.¹⁷

The Christian faith receives classical dogmatic expression in the Nicene-Constantinopolitan creed. In face of the tendencies of theological liberalism, it is heartening that the Faith and Order Commission of the W. C. C. should have made that creed fundamental to its major new project: "Towards the common expression of the apostolic faith today."¹⁸ The meetings at Chambésy and Odessa in 1981 and the Lima meeting in 1982 encourage a greater liturgical use of the creed in churches where it is theoretically acknowledged but rarely voiced; and all churches are invited to interpret its contents in their general and particular historical situation.

The Anaphora

"Through Christ we have access in the one Spirit to the Father" (Eph 2.18). Saint Basil the Great, in his treatise *On the Holy Spirit*, demonstrates that a doxology of thanksgiving is properly addressed to the Father through the Son in the Holy Spirit. That upward movement corresponds to the economy of salvation whereby the Father's gifts descend to us through the Son in the Spirit. It is hardly surprising that a trinitarian structure should from very early times—and with special clarity in the East since the fourth century—have characterized the eucharistic anaphora in which

¹⁷*Methodist Hymn Book* (London, 1933), no. 363.

¹⁸See *Commission on Faith and Order Lima 1982: Towards Visible Unity*, vol. 1 (Faith and Order Paper 112) (Geneva, 1982), pp. 89-100; vol. 2 (Paper 113), pp. 28-46.

the Church gives thanks to God for his saving economy and beseeches his continued blessings now to be made concrete in the sacramental communion.¹⁹ Recently such scholars as Adalbert Hamman and Marc Lods have observed the far-reaching parallels of both substance and form—even in such scanty documentation and description as we have— between early baptismal confessions and early eucharistic prayers.²⁰ J. A. Jungmann showed that the continuing kinship between the two types of formula received terminological recognition even in the West as well as in the East. Thus the eucharistic prayer could be designated ἐξομολόγησις, *contestatio* or *praedicatio*, names suitable for the confession of faith or even the sermon; while pseudo-Denys called the creed an εὐχαριστία.²¹

The Western name of “preface” is derived from *prae* and *fari*, to “speak before.” The intended audience is unequivocally God, our creator, redeemer and consummator. The anaphora is directed upwards. Marc Lods points out that such biblical terms as ἀνάγγελλειν, ἀπαγγελλειν, ἐξάγγελλειν, κατὰγγελλειν correspond to the Hebrew *higgid*, a solemn proclamation. He refers to Deuteronomy 26.3: “And you shall go to the priest which is in office at that time, and say to him, ‘I declare this day to the Lord your God that I have come into the land which the Lord swore to our fathers to give us.’” This is followed by “von Rad’s credo,” which is recited “before the Lord your God,” when the firstfruits are being offered.²² Lods finds here support for J. Jeremias’ controversial thesis (which I myself accept) that the “proclamation of the Lord’s death” mentioned in 1 Corinthians 11.26 is addressed to God. The Lord’s supper is a “reminder” to God of the passion of Christ, intended as a plea that he will let the Messiah return—“till he come”—to complete his work.²³

The anaphora called by the name of Saint John Chrysostom is a beautiful example of all the points we have been making concerning the great eucharistic prayer. From a comparison of the ideas and phrases of this anaphora with the sermons and writings of Chrysostom Georg Wagner has argued rather persuasively that the kernel of this prayer was used by

¹⁹L. A. Ligier, “From the Last Supper to the Eucharist” in L. Sheppard (ed.), *The New Liturgy* (London, 1970), pp. 113-50, especially 145-49.

²⁰A. Hamman, “Du symbole de la foi à l’anaphore eucharistique” in P. Granfield and J. A. Jungmann (eds.), *Kyriakon: Festschrift Johannes Quasten*, vol. 2 (Münster, 1970), pp. 835-43; M. Lods, “Préface eucharistique et confession de foi” in *Revue d’Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses* 59 (1979) 121-42.

²¹J. A. Jungmann, *Missarum Sollemnia* 5th ed. (Vienna, 1962), 1, pp. 591-606; 2, pp. 145-61. The reference for Pseudo-Denys is *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* 3. 3, 7.

²²On “von Rad’s credo,” see G. Wainwright, *Doxology*, p. 151f.

²³J. Jeremias, *Die Abendmahlsworte Jesu*, 3rd ed., (Göttingen, 1960); ET *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus* (London, 1966), pp. 229-46 (ET pp. 237-55).

the Father himself and was indeed his own redaction.²⁴ In present company there is scarcely need to recall in detail the opening glorification of God which includes in broad outline the order of salvation, then the central christological commemoration, followed by the pneumatological invocation, the subsequent eschatologically oriented prayer for the Church, and the final resumptive doxology of the triune name.

* * * *

After this discussion of the reading of Christ's gospel in his congregation, the Spirit-enabled confession of the faith that is intended for the world's salvation, and the grateful and suppliant Church's anaphoric address to the Father, we must now turn to the sermon and to the holy communion, in order to see how, in their very different ways, these two moments in the liturgy each combine all the themes we have been elaborating in connection with the three other items of the liturgical structure.

The Sermon

It will not be necessary to repeat the first lecture. In recapitulation, let it suffice to say, first, that the doxology which normally concludes the sermon is no mere formality: it expresses the whole sermon's location *coram deo*, as a rehearsal of God's excellencies and mighty deeds. We make our "sacrifice of praise," not as though God had need of our praise but because we need to give ourselves to him for our salvation. As John Chrysostom puts it: "God does not need anything of ours, but we stand in need of all things from him. The thanksgiving adds nothing to him, but causes us to be nearer to him."²⁵ Second: the sermon serves the anamnesis of Christ in the congregation. Insofar as the preacher expounds the gospel of Christ to which the Scriptures bear normative witness, Christ speaks through the preacher. Christ, who is present in the midst of those who gather in his name (cf. Mt 18.20), finds voice in the faithful preacher. According to John Chrysostom, Christ himself will lead the attentive

²⁴G. Wagner, *Der Ursprung der Chrysostomosliturgie* (Münster, 1973). This study overtakes the more sceptical positions of A. Raes, "L'authenticité de la Liturgie byzantine de S. Jean Chrysostome" in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 24 (1958), 5-16, and G. Khouri-Sarkis, "L'origine syrienne de l'anaphore byzantine de saint Jean Chrysostome" in *L'Orient Syrien* 7 (1962), 3-68.

²⁵*Homily 25 (26). 3 on Matthew*: Οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτὸς δεῖται τῶν ἡμετέρων τινός, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς δεόμεθα τῶν ἐκείνου ἀπάντων. Καὶ γὰρ ἡ εὐχαριστία ἐκείνῳ μὲν οὐδὲν προστίθεται, ἡμᾶς δὲ οικειοτέρους αὐτῷ κατασκευάζει (PG 57. 331). Chrysostom is preaching on the leper giving thanks.

hearers through the sermon into the Scriptures.²⁶ Christ is the rudder which steers the ship of the sermon.²⁷ Third: the Spirit-inspired sermon—the Holy Spirit is the zephyr which fills the sail of the preacher's tongue, says Chrysostom in a sustained metaphor—equips and arms the congregation.²⁸ Christians who are not taught to handle the word of God are like a soldier who puts the armor on his feet instead of on his whole body, who covers only his face with the helmet instead of his whole head, who uses the shield to protect his legs instead of his chest. Unable to confess and practice the faith, they are lost against Satan and human adversaries of the faith.²⁹ They are bad witnesses before the world.

Now, however, I want to stress two further points which have not so far received much attention: first, the human character of the sermon; and second, the eschatological import of the sermon. As regards the human contribution in preaching, John Chrysostom was well aware of the dangers involved, and of the toil and sweat that go into the making of a sermon. He did not minimize the intellectual work required;³⁰ and he knew not only the peril of persecution³¹ but also the temptation of preaching merely for applause (κρότος), which in those days audibly punctuated the sermon.³² Such factors help to qualify the otherwise rather massive view

²⁶ *Homily 1. 6 on Matthew*: Διὸ παρακαλῶ, μετὰ πολλῆς ἡμῖν ἐπεσθαι τῆς σπουδῆς, ὥστε εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ πέλαγος τῶν γεγραμμένων εἰσελθεῖν, τοῦ Χριστοῦ προηγουμένου ταύτης ἡμῖν τῆς εἰσόδου. Ὡστε δὲ εὐμαθέστερον γενέσθαι τὸν λόγον, δεόμεθα καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν (ὅπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων Γραφῶν πεποιήκαμεν), προλαμβάνειν τὴν περικοπὴν τῆς Γραφῆς, ἣν ἂν μέλλωμεν ἐξηγεῖσθαι, ἵνα τῇ γνώσει ἡ ἀνάγνωσις προοδοποιούσα ᾗ (PG 57. 20f).

²⁷ *On I Saw the Lord, Homily 4, 1* (PG 56, 121).

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Homily 30* (29). 3 *on John* (PG 59. 174f); cf. *Homily 34. 5 on the Acts of the Apostles* (PG 60. 250); *On the Apostolic Saying, 'We Know That Those Who Love God'*, 3 (PG 51. 177).

³⁰ *Homily 21* (20). 1 *on John*: Πολλῆς ἡμῖν, ἀγαπητοί, δεῖ τῆς μερίμνης, πολλῆς τῆς ἀγρυπνίας, ὥστε δυνηθῆναι τὸ βάθος κατοπεῦσαι τῶν Θείων Γραφῶν...δεῖ μὲν ἐρεῦνης ἀκριβοῦς, δεῖ δὲ καὶ εὐχῆς ἔκτενους (PG 59. 127). Drawing the contrast between ministry at tables and ministry of the word (Acts 6.2), Chrysostom interprets thus: Ἐπεὶ καὶ νῦν τοῖς μὲν ἀφελεστέροις τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τοῦτο ἐγχειρίζομεν, τὸν δὲ διδασκαλικὸν λόγον τοῖς σοφωτέροις· ἐκεῖ γάρ ἐστιν ὁ πόνος καὶ ὁ ἰδρώς (*Homily 3. 3 on I Corinthians*: PG 61. 26). See also *Homily 2. 2 on the Letter to Titus*: Ὁ γὰρ οὐκ εἰδὼς μάχεσθαι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, καὶ αἰχμαλωτίζειν πᾶν νόημα εἰς τὴν ὑπακοὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ λογισμοὺς καθαιρεῖν· ὁ οὐκ εἰδὼς δὲ χρὴ περὶ τῆς ὁρθῆς διδασκείας, πόρρω ἔστω θρόνου διδασκαλικοῦ (PG 62. 673).

³¹ See especially the sermon from the end of his time at Constantinople: *Homily 5. 4 on Letter to the Hebrews* (PG 63. 51f); but already *In Praise of St. Paul, Homily 6*: Πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἄτοπον,...Τὸν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ κήρυγμα ἰόντα, ἀπλῶς καὶ ὥς ἔτυχεν ἐπὶ τοῦτο χωρεῖν, καὶ ἀπερικέκτωι καταδέχεσθαι πράγμα μυρίων θανάτων πρόξενον; (PG 50. 507). Chrysostom takes comfort from the apostolic precedent of fortitude under persecution (Kaczynski, p. 124f).

³² *On the Priesthood 5, 2 and 7f* (PG 48. 673 and 676); *Homily on Those Who Say That Demons Govern Human Actions 1. 1* (PG 49. 245); *Homily 30. 4 on the Acts of the Apostles*

which Chrysostom presents of the preacher's inspiration by the Holy Spirit. We ourselves, by the way, would probably want also to nuance his understanding of the inspiration of Scripture, taking greater account of the differences in literary genres, in circumstances of composition, and even perhaps in religious value.

The point I should like to add in connection with the preacher's human contribution to the sermon concerns the quality of risk. Surrounded as it is by the stable and well-tried elements of the scripture readings, the creed, and the anaphora, the unrepeatable sermon can afford a certain boldness of mind and heart as it seeks to bring home the Christian message imaginatively and penetratingly to a particular group of people at this time and in this place. As long as the traditional words and actions of the liturgy keep the classical expression of the faith before the people, the preacher may attempt those other translations and transpositions of the gospel which changes in culture also demand. And the preacher may hazard the prophetic "reading" of a personal, local, national, or world-wide situation in the light of the gospel.

That brings me to the point I wish to make about the eschatological import of the sermon. I showed in the first lecture how, under the New Covenant, preaching permanently bears an eschatological character. But there have been moments in Christian history when the urgency has been more pronounced than at other times. Chrysostom lived at a time when, with the conversion of the Empire, the apocalyptic note was starting to be subdued. Today I simply note that the universalization of horizons is a characteristic of biblical apocalyptic; and I wonder whether, in our global epoch, things may be "coming to a head" for the entire human race as has never happened before, except proleptically in the life, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ. If that is the case, I would expect to hear a renewed tone of urgency in a preaching which sets matters of life and death in the perspective of the eternal God's project and design for humanity as part of his own kingdom.

That leads us to consider, finally, the holy communion.

The Holy Communion

The holy communion is the clearest sign that, through and despite

(PG 60. 226-228). On the whole subject of applause see J. Zellinger, "Der Beifall in der altchristlichen Predigt" in H. M. Gietl and G. Pfeilschifter (eds.), *Festgabe Alois Knöpfler zur Vollendung des 70. Lebensjahres* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1917), pp. 403-415; and Kaczynski, pp. 288-92, for nuances in the interpretation of Chrysostom's attitudes.

human efforts, salvation remains from first to last God's gift. The preacher can and must proclaim the gospel, and God will work in spite of the preacher's faithless failures and through his inspired achievements. But in the end we simply receive the holy communion. In the words of the Orthodox communion hymn:

We have seen the true light,
We have received the heavenly Spirit,
We have found the true faith,
We worship the undivided Trinity:
This has been our salvation.³³

Or in one of the eucharistic hymns of the Wesleys:³⁴

Author of life divine,
Who hast a table spread,
Furnish'd with mystic wine
And everlasting bread,
Preserve the life Thyself has given,
And feed and train us up for heaven.

Our needy souls sustain
With fresh supplies of love,
Till all Thy life we gain,
And all thy fulness prove,
And, strengthened by Thy perfect grace,
Behold without a veil Thy face.

It is perhaps our reception of communion which is our most effective proclamation of God's name among the nations. Here the Holy Spirit gives life to Christ's flesh, and through his flesh to ours, and his flesh is given for the life of the world (cf. Jn 6. 51, 63); here we drink the inebriating cup of the Spirit, which is preferable to all merely earthly wine (cf. Eph 5. 18-20),³⁵ and the feast is prepared for all peoples (Is 25. 6-9). Christ's coming in communion is the sacramental response to the cry of *Maranatha*, "Our Lord, come"; it is the anticipation of his final parousia.³⁶ Those who admit him in faith, who receive him into the very marrow of their bones, are being made "partakers of the divine nature" (2 Pet 1. 4). The

³³Εἶδομεν τὸ φῶς . . .

³⁴*Methodist Hymn Book* (London, 1933), no. 764.

³⁵P. Lebeau, *Le Vin nouveau du Royaume* (Paris-Bruges, 1966).

³⁶G. Wainwright, *Eucharist and Eschatology*, new ed. (New York, 1981).

day is thus being hastened, when "God will be all in all" (1 Cor 15. 28) and the word of Saint Irenaios will find its fullest accomplishment: *Gloria enim Dei vivens homo; vita autem hominis visio Dei*.³⁷

I BELONG TO THE Methodist Church, and John Wesley's sermons are part of our doctrinal standards. The Wesley brothers enjoyed an elevated understanding and practice of the Lord's Supper which was quite remarkable for eighteenth-century Anglicans³⁸ and which later Methodists have been regrettably unable to sustain. What is quite irreplaceable in our tradition, however, are the hymns of Charles Wesley. And as a Methodist preacher, pastor, and president of the eucharist, I can do no better than invoke one in conclusion, for it sums up so many of the substantial themes of these lectures:³⁹

Father of everlasting grace,
Thy goodness and Thy truth we praise,
Thy goodness and Thy truth we prove;
Thou hast, in honour of Thy Son,
The gift unspeakable sent down,
The Spirit of life, and power, and love.

Send us the Spirit of Thy Son,
To make the depths of Godhead known,
To make us share the life divine;
Send him the sprinkled blood to apply,
Send him our souls to sanctify,
And show and seal us ever Thine.

So shall we pray, and never cease,
So shall we thankfully confess
Thy wisdom, truth, and power and love;
With joy unspeakable adore,
And bless and praise Thee evermore,
And serve Thee as Thy hosts above:

Till, added to that heavenly choir,

³⁷Irenaios, *Against Heresies* 4, 20, 7 (PG 7. 1037).

³⁸J. C. Bowmer, *The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in Early Methodism* (London, 1951).

³⁹*Methodist Hymn Book* (London, 1933), no. 730.

We raise our songs of triumph higher,
And praise Thee in a bolder strain,
Outsoar the first-born seraph's flight,
And sing, with all the saints in light,
Thy everlasting love to man.

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tradition" (p. 144). In the last chapter (7) Teodora Voinescu introduces the reader to the richness of Rumanian iconography in her survey of the post-Byzantine icons of Wallachia and Moldavia and illustrates the remarkable robustness and vitality of a vast iconographic repertoire, both diffuse and traditional, that successfully maintained a Rumanian Orthodox Christian iconographic continuity.

The Icon has already been widely, though briefly, noted in a variety of places in the popular media. It is hoped that this will have the effect of familiarizing the uninitiated with an area of art history of unusual beauty and brilliance, but also with an ancient and medieval Christian tradition that was, and is, theologically and culturally extremely rich and vital.

John E. Rexine
Colgate University

The Sociology of Religion. By Thomas F. O'Dea and Janet O'Dea Aviad. Foundations of Modern Sociology Series. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1983. Second Edition. Pp. viii + 135. \$11.95 Cloth; \$8.95 Paper.

According to the authors of this new edition of an introduction to the sociology of religion, "The sociology of religion is the study of the significant, and often subtle, relationships which prevail between religion and social structure, and between religion and social progress. It involves the attempt to develop and make more adequate its own conceptualizations as it comes to comprehend better the many-sided phenomena which religion presents for study" (pp. 127-28). The aim is to present a conceptual scheme and vocabulary of analysis concretely, avoiding high-level generalizations without immediate empirical evidence, and to make use of as little technical jargon as possible. Strengths and weaknesses of the conceptual bases of sociology are indicated in the process. Religion is recognized as universally practiced and as concerned with a "beyond," with humanity's relation to and attitude toward that 'beyond,' and with what people consider to be the practical implications of the 'beyond' for human life" (p. 1). In other words, we are dealing with an area that is transcendent.

Much of the book involves the application of functional theory to religion as a need that grows out of human existence that is characterized by *contingency*, *powerlessness*, and *scarcity*. In terms of functional theory, religion has been described as "the *manipulation of non-empirical or supraempirical means for non-empirical or supraempirical ends*" (p. 7). Religion provides meaning beyond the capability of our human knowledge and a sense of security beyond what human beings can guarantee.

Functional theory demonstrates the significance of the sociological study of religion and sees religion as going well beyond the mundane everyday experience of human beings. Religion can provide meaning and a ritual for facilitating a relationship to the transcendent. According to functional theory, religion can be distinguished by six functions: (1) human support, consolation and reconciliation by its invocation of the transcendent; (2) the offering of emotional ground for a new security and firmer identity; (3) the sacralization of norms and values of the established society; (4) the provision of standards of value in terms of which institutionalized norms may be critically examined and found seriously wanting (the prophetic function); (5) the offering to individuals of an understanding of who and what they are (identity function); and (6) helping the growth and maturation of the individual in society. Religion's functions can be positive or negative in terms of society—integrative or disintegrative, stabilizing or revolutionary. Religion may play a dysfunctional role by inhibiting protest or impeding social change; it may inhibit societal knowledge or impede a more functionally appropriate adaptation of society to changing conditions; its "prophetic" criticism may be utopian; religious identification may prove divisive. Finally, the relation of religion to the individual—ambiguous as it can be—can institutionalize immaturity and encourage dependence rather than individual responsibility and self-direction. But, "religion contributes to social systems in that at the breaking points, when men face contingency and powerlessness, it offers an answer to the problem of meaning" (pp. 18-19).

The Sociology of Religion contains six concise chapters on "Religion and Society: The Functionalist Approach"; "The Religious Experience"; "The Institutionalization of Religion"; "Religion and Society"; "Religion and Conflict"; and "Ambiguity and Dilemma." Such important themes as Emile Durkheim's characteristics of the sacred, Rudolf Otto's idea of the holy, Max Weber's treatment of charisma, Max Muller's idea of the infinite, Edward Sapir's analysis of the human meaning of religion, Martin Buber's I—Thou relationship, Paul Tillich's emphasis on the centrality of the encounter with ultimacy in religious experience, Ludwig Geuerbach's thesis that the true content of religion is anthropological, Sigmund Freud's view that religion is the recapitulation of infantilism, and Joachim Wach's recognition that the religious experience is a total response of the total being to what is perceived as the ultimate reality are among those taken up in this book in a direct, coherent way. Religion institutionally is shown to be involved in society in a complex way, intricately related to the social structure and to the process of social change as well. The authors know well that social structure has its effects on religion, and religion, in turn, has its effects on the social structure; and they illustrate this with great precision. The subjects of secularization,

desacralization, rationalization of thought, mysticism, conversion, social stratification, cult formation, religious symbolism, belief patterns and myth are very much a part of the substance of the author's analysis and contribute substantially to introducing the reader to many areas of primary concern to the sociologist of religion, who clearly recognizes that "religion as a central element in culture provides form and direction to human thought, feeling and action. It stabilizes human orientations, values, aspirations and ego-ideals" (p. 127). Crucial to religion is faith. Without faith there is no stable base, and in secularized societies the problem of the instability of religion is obvious.

The Sociology of Religion is an excellent introduction to the subject. Originally written by Thomas F. O'Dea, the revision by Janet O'Dea Aviad is based on notes which O'Dea, who died in 1974, left. It is a model of brevity and precision and provides a clear understanding of what the sociology of religion is all about.

John E. Rexine
Colgate University

Europe and the Middle Ages. By Edward Peters. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1983. Pp. xv + 319. Illustrated. \$14.95 Paper.

Though it is true that the study of history has increasingly been made more palatable through improved pedagogical and technological techniques, it is also the case that historians in the West have become more aware of the necessity of presenting students and readers with a much more comprehensive picture of any given period of history, one that tries to get at the essence of that period rather than merely chronicling political, military, economic and other events. Peters' *Europe and the Middle Ages* is an abbreviated and considerably rewritten version of an earlier book entitled *Europe: The World of the Middle Ages*, which was published by Prentice Hall in 1977. For Peters (of the University of Pennsylvania) "historical study has created an intellectual tool that permits us to observe other people living in time without the distortion that prevented them, and often prevents us, from perceiving what living in time means. At one level, perhaps the most important, we are able to experience time and to understand, however incompletely, that our experience of time may be measured in other ways, and that the study of history sharpens that awareness and elaborates our individual and collective self-consciousness" (pp. xiv-xv). Certainly it used to be standard fare for all Western students to take a course in medieval history to help them understand the emergence and development of the modern Western world. The arbitrary, even anomalous, term 'Middle Ages' has long sug-

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But books, such as the one reviewed here, console me in my distress, since, in fact, they constitute a unity that combines masterful caterpillarism with the flight of an ingenious butterfly.

Alexander Kazhdan
Dumbarton Oaks

Themes in Orthodox Patristic Psychology Volume. 1, *Humility*. Archimandrite Chrysostomos. Etna, California: Center for Traditionalist Orthodox Studies, 1983. Pp. 85 + iv.

This is the first in a series of volumes dealing with specific topics in the psychology of the Fathers of the Egyptian desert. It is the second publication of the Center for Traditionalist Orthodox Studies, a study and publication program under the auspices of the Saint Gregory Palamas Monastery in Etna, California (formerly in Hayesville, Ohio). The author, Abbot of the Saint Gregory Palamas Monastery and a psychologist by academic training (Ph.D., Princeton), is aptly qualified to attempt the difficult task of defining an Orthodox Patristic psychology. Father Chrysostomos, an Old Calendar zealot, is the spiritual son of the Abbot-Bishop of the Holy Monastery of Sts. Cyprian and Justina, in Fili (Athens), Greece, himself the spiritual son of the famous Archimandrite Philotheos Zervakos. Thus, as the author indicates in his introduction, he draws from a healthy spiritual background in his work. The fact that the Old Calendarist zealots have such an eminently qualified scholar to express their traditional views, and that Father Chrysostomos is so moderate in his views toward the New Calendar Orthodox jurisdictions, can make his voice appealing to a wide Orthodox audience—an appeal lamentably lacking in many of the “traditionalist” Orthodox circles. His many appeals and efforts for Orthodox unity make many of his writings essential for an American, English-speaking Orthodox audience, the present volume being no exception.

This and other projected volumes in the series will follow the major divisions appearing in the *Euergetinos*, the primary collection of writings of the early Egyptian monastics. Father Chrysostomos first attempts to develop a basic understanding of the particular theme and then traces its continuity through later and contemporary Fathers. In the current volume, the author provides an initial orientation to true Psychology, as perceived and practiced by the early Orthodox Fathers. This overview is necessary for a better understanding of both the projected series and the first volume, which deals with the highest virtue, “mother of them all”—humility. We discover that mind and spirit can cooperate harmoniously to form a ‘wholeness’ which constitutes the person. This whole-

ness comes to interact in concord with the will of God in such a way as to result in human participation in the Divine, *theosis*.

Humility, in its Protestant, Catholic, and humanistic forms (a trait, an adornment of the personality, a behavior) are explored and found astoundingly shallow in the light of Orthodox practice. This central section of the book deserves several re-readings in that the concepts presented there are so foreign to our modern Western way of thinking. True humility is found to have its source in God, manifested in Christ, and proceeding through divine revelation to the soul, thus becoming an inner state that acts on the mind.

In section two of the book, Sister Paula brings this Orthodox understanding of humility up to more recent and almost contemporary times. She does this in a penetrating review of some of Dostoevsky's characters (in *The Brothers Karamazov* in particular). The road to humility, in Dostoevsky's works, begins with a clear vision of God, resulting in a reflection of one's moral irresponsibility and imperfection. One then arrives at a self-knowledge of his own rebellion against God, finally attaining faith, love, and humility. However, man must overcome an egocentric view of the world and accept the validity of external moral standards before finding the way to true humility. A student of Archimandrite Chrysostomos while she was studying English literature, Sister Paula reflects a clear understanding of his thought and brings his insight of the patristic mind into a vivid literary focus. Presently a nun at the Skete of Saint Xenia in Wildwood, California, Sister Paula is a promising Orthodox writer and we look forward to further work from her.

The last section of the book returns to the *Euergetinos*, the inspiration for this and future volumes. Short lessons and anecdotes are given to provide the reader with some feel for the practice of humility by the desert Fathers. Like his *Ancient Fathers of the Desert* (Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1980), Father Chrysostomos' present translations from the desert Fathers provide us with rich insights into the mystical Christian life. By the thoughts and examples of the desert Fathers we begin, in his superb translations (some rendered in English for the first time), to assimilate and absorb the virtue of true humility.

Archimandrite Chrysostomos deserves our praise and gratitude for his attempts to provide the western mind with a better understanding of Orthodox humility and for introducing "to our western darkness...the light of the East and ancient fervor of Egypt." We wait with anticipation the next volume in the series, from a scholar who is fast becoming one of the most articulate spokesman for Orthodox spirituality in the U.S.

Thomas C. Brecht.
Birmingham, Alabama

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which both are on the point of physical extinction after a significant period of systematic—even government-inspired—persecution. The Armenian genocide is more than alluded to, and the elimination of the Armenians from Turkey is now paralleled by the more subtly managed elimination of the Greek Orthodox minority from the Anatolian peninsula. If there is a theme that is fully documented, it is that systematic discrimination against non-Muslims has been a persistently pursued policy of the modern Turkish state, and though it has occasionally met with protests from the international community, this policy has enabled the Turkish government to eliminate practically all minorities so that it is now 99.9% Muslim pure.

Nicholas Damtsas' book is a kind of memorial to a Constantinople that was and now no longer exists. It is a historical reminiscence of an Orthodox Christian community whose roots in Asia Minor and Constantinople (founded by the first Christian emperor) are much deeper than any Turkish Muslim roots. It is a testament to the architectural and archaeological Christian monuments of early Christian, Byzantine, Ottoman, and modern times for which there will soon be no Christian caretakers, but only ignorant, uncaring, hostile desecrators. It is a grim epitaph to a once proud and flourishing Christian city that is now breathing its last gasps of Christian life, and of which we shall soon have only the memories and the pictures provided by a book like *The Agony of Constantinople*. It is the story of church-state relations in which a hostile and unenlightened state has managed to destroy one of the most precious heritages it was historically charged with preserving.

John E. Rexine
Colgate University

What Are They Saying About Christ and World Religions? By Lucien Richard. Ramsey, New Jersey: Paulist Press, 1981. Pp. 87.

The present volume is an elaboration of the contemporary theological thought on the important issue of Christology in relation to other world religions. In contemporary American academic settings, where all religions are open for discussion, the Christian needs to come to grips with the central doctrine of Christ and the absoluteness of the Christian claim of salvation.

The author of the present work grapples with the problem of Christology from the exclusive and inclusive perspective and other traditional expressions of the doctrine of Christ. He offers an excellent overview of Protestant and Roman Catholic theological positions, inclusive and exclusive Christologies and the search for nonexclusive Christology that will not degrade the claims of other world religions.

The doctrine of the Incarnation is the crucial point of contention between Christianity and other religions. This doctrine is so central to the Christian religion that all of the other teachings of Christianity stand or fall. In stating the opinion of Protestant Christian theologians, he says: "It becomes imperative for Christian theology to take stock of the fact that our literal interpretation of the Incarnation has divisive and exclusive consequences. The images through which the Incarnation is expressed have no literal meaning; they are mythological" (p. 24). This statement is typically Protestant. However, one must realize that traditional Christianity has insisted on the doctrine of the Incarnation as nonnegotiable. As it is evident in the Christian theology of the early Church, and especially in Saint Athanasios and the other great Fathers, the doctrine of the Incarnation is that which separates Christianity from the other religions.

In discussing the Roman Catholic traditions, he states that, "In the classical Catholic system of dogmatic theology, there is no clearly recognizable place in which the extra-Christian religions can be taken explicitly as a theme for discussion" (p. 28). So the author elaborates the Roman Catholic position of post-Vatican II theology. He says, "Contemporary Catholic theologians are attempting to come to terms with the theological fact of world religions" (p. 28). The dominant principal is in the salvific will and the claim that this will is revealed in a definitive way of that reality" (p. 28). Of course, the Incarnation poses a problem for the traditional Roman Catholic theologian who wishes to recognize that salvation is open to those who practice their faith in other religions.

The author gives an account of the "inclusive and exclusive" Christologies such as the "Logos Christology," "Logos and History," "Soteriology," "Christologies and Cultures," "Christologies and Pluralism," and the "dialogical approach" toward those traditions outside of Christianity. In the contemporary views of Christology, "Jesus and the event of salvation history become mere symbols of a wider truth and about God rather than a once-and-for-all manifestation of God otherwise unknowable" (p. 56).

This small volume is an excellent summary of contemporary Roman Catholic and Protestant positions on the central Christian theme of Christology. The author, however, completely ignores the Orthodox position on Christology or merely he would classify such a position as a traditional, "exclusive" position. In relation to the religions of the world, Christian Orthodox theologians, perhaps have the same view as the early church Fathers had of the Greek, Roman, and Jewish religions. These religions have partial truth and they cannot guarantee salvation. The acceptance of Christ as incarnate Logos offers humanity, redemption and ultimate salvation. At least the author could refer to the works of the late George Florovsky as representing this position of Orthodoxy.

The author of this book, Dr. Lucien Richard, is professor of systematic

theology at Weston School of Theology and author of several works on Protestantism and Christology. He, of course, is a competent scholar in the field. We hope he will produce a work in the future that will contribute to the solution of a Christological approach to include the world religions and will not be offensive to the extra-Christian religions. He most appropriately sets forth the work of the Christian theologians in the following words: "The task that lies ahead in the encounter with other traditions is to remain faithful to the life-giving truth of the New Testament and, on the other hand, seek to free ourselves from an exclusive language and concept that hinder human and Christian growth" (p. 73).

This task of redefining the Incarnation of the Logos is admirable. This, however, must be rooted in Patristic theology as well as in the conciliar documents that were formulated by the Church. If we ignore traditional Orthodoxy in order to avoid offending our brothers and sisters of other religions, we will not be faithful to our religious affirmations. By lumping all religions together, this may lead to theological syncretism. I have a feeling that the Incarnation of Christ will remain central to Christianity for the future.

The book is an overview of several Christologies that we can readily use as a basis for further discussion and elaboration on this most important topic of the Christian religion. In spite of some of my objections stated above, I recommend this book as a basis of discussion on Christology and other religious affirmations.

George C. Papademetriou
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When (the Father) Will Subject All Things to (the Son), Then (the Son) Himself Will Be Subjected to Him (the Father) Who Subjects All Things to Him (the Son)—A Treatise on First Corinthians 15.28 by Saint Gregory of Nyssa

BROTHER CASIMIR, O.C.S.O.

“AND WHEN ALL THINGS have been subjected to him (the Son), then shall the Son also himself be subjected to him (the Father) who subjected all things to him, that God may be all in all.” Such are the words from Saint Paul’s First Epistle to the Corinthians (15.28) which Saint Gregory of Nyssa comments upon in a treatise¹ especially devoted to this verse. This relatively short treatise, bearing more or less the same heading as the above quoted verse from First Corinthians, may be grouped together with Gregory’s other works which basically center around the consecration of mankind in Christ’s Incarnation and Resurrection—the ‘Commentary on the Song of Songs,’ ‘On Perfection,’ ‘On Ecclesiastes,’ and the ‘Great Catechesis.’ We might say that these works stand apart from those writings of Gregory dealing with trinitarian and Christological topics. Although Gregory of Nyssa’s treatise on the Son’s subjection is brief, it nevertheless demands attention because of the rather thorny problem Saint Paul’s above quoted verse to the Corinthians has caused ever since its composition. We might observe that the Christian life, conceived and developed in Gregory’s treatise ‘On Virginity’ and the ‘Life of Moses,’ is a practical application of the reality contained in Christ’s mystical body, the Church. The ‘Commentary on the Song of Songs’²

¹The text may be found in Migne, PG 44.1304-26. J.K. Downing has a critical text, *The Treatise of Gregory of Nyssa. In Illud: Tunc et Ipse Filius. A Critical Text with Prologomena* (Cambridge, Ma., 1947). Part of Migne’s text (1313-24) may be found in the German translation by Reinhard M. Hübner, *Die Einheit des Leibes Christi bei Gregor von Nyssa* (Leiden, 1974) pp. 35-40. Hübner gives a highly detailed study of Gregory’s text in his first chapter, “Die Einheit und Gemeinschaft des leibes Christi Innerhalb der Theologie Gregors,” pp. 27-66. To the best of my knowledge, Gregory’s treatise on the Son’s subjection is not fully translated into a modern language.

²The ‘Commentary on the Song of Songs’ consists of fifteen homilies on Song 1.1-6.8.

centers around the development of the body of Christ in individual souls as opposed to Origen's vision of the Church as the bride of Christ; Gregory does not neglect this, but he relegates it to a place of less importance.

When we hear the word 'subjection' (ὕποταγή) in the early development of the Church's dogma, the Arian heresy usually comes to our minds. Arios (256-336) and his later followers held a kind of theological rationalism where the Godhead is not only uncreated, but unbegotten (ἀγέννητος). A logical sequence of such a doctrine is that the Son of God, the Logos, cannot truly be God. He is the first of all creatures and, like them, was brought out of nothing, not from the divine substance. Hence, He is essentially different from the Father. He is the Son of God not metaphysically, but in the moral sense of the word. The Logos, whose sonship is by adoption, lacks real participation in the divinity and has a kind of middle position between God and the world. Such a superficial rationalism was appealing since it gave a simple answer to the difficult question of the relationship between God the Father and God the Son. Arios' theory was not new, but the theory of subordinationism³ had been fashionable before his time; Arios simply took up the theme and added his own notions.

The treatise on the Son's subjection by Gregory of Nyssa has some noticeable polemical overtones, and Gregory indeed intended to defend the catholic tradition from such 'evil frauds' in the trinitarian controversies of the day.⁴ Nevertheless, when reading the treatise, one might get

I have recently translated this text [PG 44.756-1120 and the critical edition, *Gregorii Nysseni in Canticum Canticorum*, edited by H. Langerbeck under the direction of Werner Jaeger (Leiden, 1960)] with an introduction. It will be published later this year (1983) by the Holy Cross Orthodox Press, Brookline, Ma. My interest in these homilies, with their influence by Origen, has lead me to consider Gregory's treatment on the Son's subjection which more or less takes up the same theme begun in the fifteenth (and last) homily and stresses Gregory's eschatological reflections. Any quotes from the Song Commentary are from my own translation.

³This doctrine attributed to a God who was less than God, and thus really unable to effect man's salvation. Such a difference is perhaps understandable, for it rested on an attempt among both Church Fathers and heretics alike to build a theology on the literal texts of Scripture, 1 Cor. 15.28 being a prime example. In fact, Scripture attempts to convey a highly complex question regarding the relationship between Father and Son. Prestige remarks on this point. "So long as the ultimate deity was regarded as a unitary being, this deficiency led to no serious consequences, because every object to which an origin could be ascribed was also a creature. It was only when the deity came to be regarded as a triad, and a second and third person came to be distinguished within the divine being itself, that any problem of derivation, as distinct from creation, could possibly arise. This problem, therefore, is specifically a problem of Christian theology," G.L. Prestige, *God in Patristic Thought* (London; 1964) p. 135.

⁴Cf. col. 1304, "Evil frauds...lay hands on the divine silver to make it base by mixing

the impression that Gregory is talking about something more profound, namely his teaching on the Church as deeply embedded in eschatology. Due to the fact that the Son's subjection arises from trinitarian controversies, Hübner maintains that Gregory's treatise rests both upon the teachings of Marcellus of Ankyra⁵ and Saint Athanasios. Gregory's contact with Marcellus' followers arose out of concern for his brother, Basil (the Great), who was engaged in a dispute over the lawful bishop of Antioch.⁶ Gregory attended the Synod of Antioch in 379 which in turn sent him to the diocese of Pontos as a visitor. It was in the town of Sebaste that Gregory defended himself (380) against charges of Arianism or, more specifically, charges of the Son's inferior position, which somewhat resembled Marcellus of Ankyra's point of view. This compelled Gregory to compose a statement on the topic, and he thereby corrected Marcellus' excesses.

After giving an explanation of the term 'subjection' (ὕποταξις) (1305-08) with regard to examples from the animal and human spheres, Gregory goes on to say that subjection properly understood is worthy of God himself (1309) and is present in both the "Son who is subjected and in the Father who receives the Son's subjection." Nevertheless, such a good is presently lacking; as Paul says, "The Son's subjection lies in the future." Here is where we find room for heretical doctrines pertaining to such a teaching—they attempt to reconcile the unchangeable nature of God with the present state of human existence which Christ assumed

them with heretical and adulterated conceptions which obscure the Word's brightness.... Such persons say that the glory of the Only-Begotten (Son) of God must be degraded." And col. 1325, "The Apostle's purpose was not so much to expose heretical teachings which is what you would gather from the text (1 Cor. 15.28) being treated."

⁵Marcellus of Ankyra, was at the beginning of the fourth century, a staunch upholder of Nikaia. He wrote "De Subjectione Domini," a rejection of strict subordinationism. The Arians accused him of leaning towards Sabellian modalism and adoptionism. Marcellus held that the Logos was God from all eternity, but not Son from all eternity; the Logos became Son only at the Incarnation. Marcellus was deposed by the Arian Council of Constantinople (336) and was defended by Pope Julius I to whom he gave an orthodox profession of faith. Saint Athanasios stood by him until Marcellus was discredited by the errors of his disciple Photinos. Marcellus published a work against Asterios the Sophist (c. 330) in which he attacked Eusebios of Nikomedia and Eusebios of Caesarea, laying himself open to the accusation of Sabellianism, thus becoming a target of the anti-Nikaian party. Marcellus' tract against Asterios is no longer extant, but numerous citations in Eusebios prove his doctrine unorthodox and related to Monarchism. At the consummation of the world, Son and Spirit will reenter the Godhead and will become an absolute monad again.

⁶In Basil's concern for church unity in the Arian controversy, he enlisted Athanasios' help in his attempt to establish better relations between Rome and the East. One such obstacle in the path to such church unity was the trouble over Paulinos and Melitos. Basil's appeal to Athanasios and to Rome for the healing of this schism was rejected, mainly because Rome was opposed to Melitos whom Basil favored.

in his Incarnation. As Gregory asks rhetorically in 1309, "How does this (subjection of the Son to the Father at the fulfillment of time) relate to what is unchangeable?" He then answers, "That which will exist afterwards but not now refers to our mutable human nature." The thought of linking human nature with subjection naturally leads Gregory to consider the central fact of the Resurrection, "The goal for which all men hope (πρὸς τὸ πέρας τῶν ἐλπιζομένων) and for which they direct their prayers" (1312). With the important term *πέρας* (goal) Gregory describes the consummation of salvation history, namely ἀποκατάστασις, which is "the object of our treatise" (1313). It is in the section from 1313 to 1316 that Gregory presents his readers with his own interpretation of Paul's text (1 Cor 15.28).

It is especially in his eschatological views that Gregory proves himself a disciple of Origen. He does not share Origen's ideas regarding the preexistence of souls, and he especially is at pains to reject the doctrine that they have 'fallen' into material bodies as a punishment for sins committed in a preceding world.⁷ However, Gregory agrees with Origen in holding that the pains of hell are not eternal but temporary due to their medicinal nature. Detachment or ἀπάθεια in this life represents a foretaste of the blessed life to come. This is practically carried out by despoiling our "garments of skin" (cf. Gen 3.21) which compose our animal life or ψυχή. Gregory equates the 'man' first created by God in Gen 1.27 not with an historical figure, but with that of Christ to come—"There is neither male nor female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus" (Gal 3.28). Gregory's conception of askesis which helps restore our εἰκόν, or the original man spoken of above, is commanded by ἀπάθεια, freedom from passion. Thus ἀπάθεια is a habitual state of grace.

The use of Gregory's Pauline exegesis is a vision of the Church as Christ's body. Creation's goal is none other than the return of all things to fellowship (κοινωνία) in the good subjection (1308) which they had at the beginning. Hence, it is easy to see how this doctrine ties in with the above-mentioned doctrine of man created in the image of God. "Nothing made by God is excluded from his kingdom.... Such things had their origin in God; what was made in the beginning (ἀρχή) did not receive evil" (1313). We find evidence of the essential goodness of all things in Gregory's other writings;⁸ evil comes in through man's misuse of his free-

⁷A basic theme of *Περὶ ψυχῆς καὶ ἀναστάσεως ὁ Λόγος ὁ λεγόμενος τὰ Μακρίνια*, PG 46.113. Origen held that spirits, once having fallen into material bodies, must despoil themselves of such bodies in order to return to God. Gregory develops the relationship of soul to body in 'On the Creation of Man,' 'On the Holy Pascha,' and 'Dialogue on the Soul and the Resurrection.'

⁸*Περὶ ψυχῆς καὶ ἀναστάσεως*, PG 46.81; 'Commentary on the Song of Songs, Twelfth Homily.'

dom—"Decrease of the good always results by straying from its principle, while the good is found closer to us insofar as it has in each one's dignity and power" (1313). Because man is God's image, he is *naturally* good by nature.⁹ This point cannot be stressed enough for a proper appreciation of Gregory's entire anthropology and theology.

Gregory's parable of the lost sheep, which is based upon Mt 18.12-14, pertains to the original unity of all things. We find it expounded in his second and twelfth homilies on the 'Song of Songs.' Such a doctrine in turn rests upon Irenaios.¹⁰ Man participates in the angelic nature (εἰς φύσεως τῶν ἀγγέλων). Gregory's treatise 'On the Making of Man' (PG 44.188), in line with his treatise on the Son's subjection, says that the grace of the Resurrection is none other than the restoration of fallen nature in its original unity. Therefore, in light of this we must view his Ökonomielehre¹¹ or the grand mystery of Christ's incarnation-death-resurrection-ascension. As Daniélou points out,¹² all souls are restored to the unity of the κόσμος νοητός in which the angels dwell. However, this unity is not a mere return to the primitive state of paradise, since the human drama has caused the appearance of a new reality, that of the God-Man, Jesus Christ.

The immediate goal of Christ's Incarnation is the destruction of evil—"When we are removed from evil in imitation of the first fruits (ἀπαρχή), our entire nature is mixed with this self-same fruits. One body has been formed with the good as predominant; our body's entire nature is united to the divine, pure nature. This is what we mean by the Son's subjection, when in his body Christ rightly has the subjection brought to him and effects in us the grace of subjection" (1316). In this way Gregory interprets the subjection of the Son to his Father as the removal of evil.

⁹Because the nature of creation subsists from its very beginning by the divine power, the end of each created being is simultaneously linked with its beginning—each thing as created from nothing passes into existence, with its perfection following as simultaneous with its beginning. Human nature is also created but does not, like other created beings, advance towards its perfection; right from the very beginning it is created in perfection. 'Let us make man according to our image and likeness' (Gen 1.26). Here is shown the very summit and perfection of goodness.... Thus in the first creation of man its end is simultaneous with its beginning, and human nature originated in perfection," Saint Gregory of Nyssa, 'Commentary on the Song of Songs, Fifteenth Homily.'

¹⁰In opposition to gnostic dualism, Irenaios teaches that there is only one God, creator of the world and Father of Jesus Christ. He develops the Pauline doctrine of ἀνακεφαλαιώσεις, or recapitulation of all things in Christ—Christ as the new Adam renews all creation and leads it back to its author through the Incarnation and redemption.

¹¹Reinhard Hübner, *Die Einheit des Leibes Christi bei Gregor von Nyssa* (Leiden, 1974) p. 44, n. 51.

¹²Jean Daniélou, *Platonisme et Théologie Mystique* (Paris, 1944) p. 181.

The individual members of Christ's body are 'physically' joined to his human nature. Thus, the body—the Church—grows as a whole unity. "Unity then means to be one body with him...for all who are joined to the one body of Christ by participation are one body with him. When the good pervades everything, then the entirety of Christ's body will be subjected to God's vivifying power. Thus, the subjection of this body will be said to be the subjection of the Son himself as united to his own body, the Church" (1317). Also, the rest of creation is meant to participate in this unity found in subjection as 1320 states. It is based upon Paul's statement in Phil 2.10, "When everything in heaven, on earth, and under the earth bends the knee to him.... Then when every creature has become one body and is joined in Christ through obedience to one another, he will bring into subjection his own body to the Father."

The phrase in 1317, "proper measure" (ἴδιον μέτρον),¹³ calls for some comment; for it brings to mind the body of Christ as a collective unity in the process of growth through the earlier concept of 'first fruits.' This phrase, it should be remembered, refers to the material side of human nature. Christ, as this first fruits, is present in mankind as a whole, a fact Gregory stresses as opposed to Christ's presence in individual members. The 'proper measure' then implies that full realization of each person who has attained "the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ," a quote from Eph 2.13 which Gregory uses in 1317. In order to understand this better, refer to his treatise 'On the Making of Man,' chapter sixteen, a key doctrine of the "double creation" of man.¹⁴ "All of nature, beginning from the first to the last man, is, so to speak, one image of him who is" (PG 44.185). This ought not to be identified with the ἀποκατάστασις as such which is purely spiritual, but this is mankind taken as an entire race.

Compare this statement from 'On the Making of Man' with the treatise on subjection (1320): "Christ's body consists of human nature in its entirety to which he has been united." The ἀποκατάστασις of mankind, which partakes of the angelic realm as stated above, refers, however, to the Church as the body of Christ through the Incarnation. Thus, ἀποκατάστασις refers to the restoration of mankind through the Incarnation. It is of this original unity of mankind in its entirety that

¹³Μέτρον—we may take it as identical to πλήρωμα, meaning the sum of all mankind.

¹⁴"In saying that 'God created man,' the text indicates, by the indefinite character of the term, all mankind; for was not Adam here named together with the creation, as the history tells us in what follows? Yet the name given to the man created is not the particular, but the general name. Thus, we are led by the employment of the general name of our nature to some such view as this—that in the divine foreknowledge and power all humanity is included in the first creation." PG 44.185.

chapter sixteen of 'On the Making of Man' speaks. It should be noted that in this chapter Gregory does not mention the term ἀποκατάστασις or restoration of man's image; one should read it before his treatise on the Son's subjection to appreciate it better. There is no ontological relationship of mankind with regard to God in the reality of ἀποκατάστασις—mankind is an "image of him who is." All of Gregory's mysticism, as developed in the 'Life of Moses' and the 'Commentary on the Song of Songs,' centers around the transcendence of God's being (οὐσία). Due to this inaccessible οὐσία, individual souls will be eternally increasing in the depths of God's inscrutable darkness. The darkness Gregory presents to us is absolute. No amount of human effort can comprehend God.¹⁵

We find two conceptions of the subjection of Christ's body in the treatise which should be noted: "The subjection of this body (that is, those joined together in Christ) will be said to be the subjection of the Son himself as united to his own body, that is, the Church" (1317). And "subjection to God is complete alienation from evil" (1316). The first model depends upon Marcellus of Ankyra, as Hübner has shown (p. 53), which Gregory obtained from *Περὶ τῆς ἐνσάρκου ἐπιφανείας τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου κατὰ Ἀρειανῶν* attributed to Saint Athanasios. Marcellus of Ankyra takes 1 Cor 15.28 as the subjection of Christ's manhood.¹⁶ Compare this now with Gregory's subjection of the body of Christ, the Church, in 1320: "Christ's body consists of human nature in its entirety to which He has been united" (καταμίχτη).

The second model comes from Origen's understanding of Christ's subjection to his Father as that of every rational creature. Compare both the use of Ps 61.2 in Gregory and Origen, "Shall not my soul be subjected to God?" For Gregory this verse (1305) develops the psalm quote by saying, "The mark of submission to God is salvation as we have learned" (1305), and later in 1308, "With regard to salvation's goal it is said that the Only-Begotten [Son] of God is subjected to the Father in the same way salvation from God is procured for mankind." The phrase "we have learned" most likely rests upon the great Alexandrian's comments in *De Principiis*, vi.1:

What then is the "subjection" by which "all things must be made subject" to Christ? In my opinion it is the same subjection by which we too desire to be subjected to him, and by which the apostles and all the saints who have followed Christ

¹⁵"God's manifestation to the great Moses began with light; afterwards God spoke to him through a cloud. Then having risen higher and having become more perfection, Moses saw God in darkness," 'Commentary on the Song of Songs, Eleventh Homily.'

¹⁶«Περὶ τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος αὐτοῦ, ἥτις ἐστὶ πᾶσα ἡ ἐκκλησία» PG 26.1021.

were subject to him. For the word subjection, when used for our subjection to Christ, implies the salvation proceeding from Christ of those who are subjected.

Here salvation equals subjection, a theme we see in Gregory's treatise; both authors see it as a lordship of the good. Gregory fills out Origen by saying, "Our subjection, however, consists of a kingdom, incorruptibility, and blessedness living in us; this is Paul's meaning of being subjected to God" (1325).

Christ's body for both Gregory and Origen encompasses not only all mankind, but every rational creature with free will. Parallel 1320, which uses Phil 2.10, with Origen's *De Principiis*, i.6, 2:

Subjection to God is our chief good when all creation resounds as one voice; when everything in heaven, on earth, and under the earth bends the knee to him, and when every tongue will confess that Jesus Christ is Lord. Then when every creature has become one body and is joined in Christ through obedience to one another, he will bring into subjection his own body to the Father.

And Origen:

For the end is always like the beginning; as therefore there is one end of all things, so we must understand that there is one beginning of all things, and as there is one end of many things, so from one beginning arise many differences and varieties, which in their turn are restored through God's goodness, through their subjection to Christ and their unity with the Holy Spirit, to one end, which is like the beginning. I refer to all those who, by 'bending the knee in the name of Jesus,' have through this very fact displayed the sign of their subjection. These are they who dwell 'in heaven and on earth and under the earth,' the three terms indicating the entire universe, that is, all those beings who started from one beginning but were drawn in various directions.

In order to show the concrete materiality of human nature, Gregory employs the term "first fruits of the common dough" (οἶον ἀπαρχή τις τοῦ κοινοῦ φουράματος) into which the divine Logos was incarnated. Origen says in a similar vein, "So every soul in God's hands is one nature and all rational beings come, if I may say so, from one lump" (*De Principiis*, iii.1, 22). We gather from this that the principle of unity of the spiritual body of Christ is not mankind, but the Godhead of the Logos; and Gregory simply took this concept over. Originally all creatures were subjected to God in one nature, and the end equals the beginning with no distinctions (cf. *De Principiis*, i.6, 2 above).

Although Gregory, like Origen, sees 1 Corinthians 15.28 as a state-

ment for evil's destruction and return of all spiritual natures to God's lordship, Gregory, as Hübner points out (p. 60), brings in Marcellus of Ankyra's model or equation of mankind and Christ's body: "Christ's body...consists of human nature in its entirety to which he has been united" (1320). Marcellus' goal is to see ἀποκατάστασις as the unbuilding of Christ's body of the Incarnation ("Christ assumed from death both the beginning of evil's destruction and the dissolution of death; then...a certain order was consequently added"—1313). In this reference no hint of the body's preexistence is present, a reason why Athanasios stood by Marcellus—he did not advocate the Origenistic concept of the preexistence of spiritual bodies. It is in line with Gregory's anthropology and soteriology which lacks Origen's concept of the body. Gregory thus has a wholly positive sense of Christ's Incarnation.

For Gregory of Nyssa the goal of the Christian life is similarity to God as the Ninth Homily on the Song says: "The end of a virtuous life is likeness to God and purity of soul." The principle of such a likeness or unity with God lies in his goodness. Compare 1317 of the subjection treatise with the Fifteenth Homily: "When the good pervades everything, then the entirety of Christ's body will be subjected to God's vivifying power." And "the disciples...should all be one and grow together into one good through the unity of the Holy Spirit."¹⁷ Unity of likeness is a sum, not an organism as in the Pauline concept of Christ's body—an organic community and solidarity of Christ's body is here without significance for salvation. Christ's Incarnation as "first fruits of the common dough" has rather the view of final penetration of the divine goodness, i.e., salvation safeguards the body's composition of its free members; for the principle of ἀποκατάστασις is God's goodness, not mankind's unity.

The contents of Christ's body, as based upon the tradition of Irenaios, Athanasios, Marcellus of Ankyra and Origen, are based upon the Stoic ἀρχή-ἀκολουθία-τέρας (beginning-consequence-goal). It gives to the grand view of Christ's body, the Church, a certain wholeness and consistency. With Gregory, the importance of ἀκολουθία designates not only the necessary body between two propositions, but the consequence by which a proposition is connected to its first principles (ἀρχαί). It is only when this sequence is established and lacks no connection that one

¹⁷Hübner sums up this unity of Christ's body by saying: "Die Tragweite der Leib-Christi-Theologie Gregors hängt ab von der Tragweite der Theologie der Gottebenenbildlichkeit des Menschen, denn der Leib Christi der Endzeit ist die Vollzahl der in ihrer ursprünglichen Gottähnlichkeit Widerhergestellten, das Endstadium der Rückführung aller aus der Entfremdung in ihre natürliche erkenntnismäßige und willentliche Verhaftung im allein Seienden und Guten, das ihr Seinsgrund ist, die Zentrierung des Blickes aller auf das eine Ziel," *Die Einheit des Leibes Christi bei Gregor von Nyssa*, p. 231.

possesses certitude. This use of the term ἀκολουθία can be seen in the Fifteenth Homily of the Song:

We hold that the bride's praises are as teachings which philosophize about more refined matters. These teachings say that beings are created and renewed not in accord with the same order or system (ἀκολουθία). Because the nature of creation subsists from its very beginning by the divine power, the end of each created being is simultaneously linked with its beginning.

Conflict between Gregory's concept of ἀποκατάστασις or subjection and "first fruits of the common dough" is brought together in a combination of Origen's and Athanasios' ideas pertaining to soteriology. We must keep in mind this tension when reading Gregory of Nyssa, for the importance of Gregory's body of theology hinges upon his theology of the image of God in man; for Christ's body is finally perfected in an original likeness to God. The Fifteenth Homily on the Song contains Gregory's eschatological form of the body of the redeemed, his high point on this subject. It is here that perfection is symbolized by a dove, that is, the Holy Spirit who is seen as the principle of unity. This is in contrast to the treatise on subjection whose principle is Christ. Regarding glory, the Fifteenth Homily says:

I think it is better to state the divine words of the Gospel: "That they may be all one; even as you, Father, are in me, and I in you, that they also may be in us" (Jn 17.21). Glory is the bond of this unity; the Holy Spirit is said to be this glory which cannot be denied by anyone prudently examining our Lord's words. He says, "The glory which you have given me, I have given to them." Indeed Christ gave this glory to his disciples when he said, "Receive the Holy Spirit." He received this glory which he already had before the world's beginning when he clothed himself with human nature which was glorified by the Spirit. Such a relationship in the glory of the Spirit is distributed to everyone united with Christ, beginning with the disciples.

Now read 1320 of the treatise on the Son's subjection where the process of Christ becoming present in his body, the Church, is identified with the Holy Spirit. It is here that the separation between the human and divine beings is bridged and can become a unity without mixture in the Holy Spirit:

I think that Christ's own glory is meant to be the Holy Spirit which he has given to his disciples by breathing upon them, for what is scattered cannot otherwise be united unless joined together by the Holy Spirit's unity.... The Spirit is glory, as Christ says of the Father: "Glorify me with the glory which I had with you before

the world was made" (Jn 17.5). The Word is God who has the Father's glory, and became flesh during these last days. It is necessary for the flesh to become what the Word is (that is, divine) by uniting itself to him; this is effected when the flesh receives that which the Word had before the world was made. This is none other than the Holy Spirit.

THE TREATISE

[M.1304] ALL THE UTTERANCES of the Lord are holy and pure as the prophet says [cf. Ps 33.4-5]. When the mind (νοῦς) has been purified as silver in fire and cleansed of every heretical notion, it has the capacity of noble utterances and a splendor which is in accord with truth. Before this, however, I think it is necessary to attest to the brilliance and purity of Saint Paul's teachings; for in paradise he was initiated into the knowledge of unintelligible things. Having Christ speaking within himself, Paul uttered such things which, indeed, anyone would utter who was taught by such a teacher, guide and master as the Word. Since evil frauds lay hands on the divine silver to make it base by mixing it with heretical and adulterated conceptions which obscure the Word's brightness and the apostle's mystical perceptions, they either do not understand these perceptions or else they resolve wickedly to choose selectively among them in order to defend their own wicked behavior, having appropriated them for their own wicked purposes. Such persons claim, in order to diminish the glory of the Only-Begotten [Son] of God, that the apostle's words agree with them when he says, "Then the Son will be subjected (ὑποταγέσθαι) to him who has subjected all things to himself" [1 Cor 15.28]. Thus, they would say such a style of speaking reveals a certain servile subjection [of the Son to the Father]. For this reason it seemed necessary to diligently examine what is being said here, that we may show that the apostolic silver is truly pure, separated and unmixed from every kind of sordid and heretical concept. We, for our part, know that such a saying or word [that is, ὑπότασσω] has many meanings in Holy Scripture and is not always suited to the same purposes: now it signifies one thing, and at another time something else...for instance,

[M.1305] slaves are to be subjected to their masters.

Man's irrational nature is to be subjected to God, of which the prophet says, "He put all things under his feet" [Ps 8.8]. As for those taken captive in battle, it says, "He

subjected peoples under us and nations under our feet” [Ps 46.4]. Yet, again, mentioning those who have been saved through knowledge, the prophet says in the person of God, “He subjected other peoples under me” [Ps 59.10]. Thus, it is fitting for us to see how what was examined in this psalm verse can be applied to Psalm 61: “Will not my soul be subjected to God?” [Ps 61.2]. That which is brought to our attention by our enemies from all these examples is taken from the Epistle to the Corinthians, namely, “then the Son himself will be subjected to the One who subjects all things to himself.” Because this text can be understood in many ways, it would be helpful if each use of the word [subjection] is examined so that we may know the proper meaning the apostle had in mind by the term ‘subjection.’

We say that those vanquished in battle unwillingly and forcefully submit themselves to their victors—this is a sign of subjection. If any opportunity arises which may offer hope of overcoming their masters, the captives who consider it bad and disgraceful to be in such a state once again rise up in rebellion. Irrational (ἄλογος) beasts are subject to men endowed with reason (λογικός); such is the order of things. How necessary it is for that which is inferior to be subjected to that which enjoys a superior lot by nature! Those under the yoke of servitude as some consequence of the law—even if they are equal in nature (to their masters), but are unable to resist the law—bear the state of subjection, having inevitably been brought to this state out of necessity.

On the other hand, the mark of submission to God is, as we have learned by the prophecy, “To God be subjected, my soul, for from him is my salvation” [Ps 61.2]. Therefore, when the apostle’s text is brought forward by our adversaries, that is, the Son must be subjected to the Father, it follows that once its meaning has been clarified, we must ask those who are accustomed to attribute Paul’s text to the Only-Begotten [Son] of God what they mean by subjection. But it is clear that the Son’s subjection should not be understood according to any mode of human speech. For neither does an enemy vanquished in battle rise up a second time against his victors out of hope and eagerness [for overcoming them]. Neither through a lack of the good does an irrational beast have a natural, necessary subjection, as in the case of sheep and cattle which are subjected to man. Similarly, neither does a bought or

[M.1308]

home-born slave ever expect to become free of slavery's yoke by law either through kindness or clemency. With regard to salvation's goal it is said that the Only-Begotten [Son] of God is subjected to the Father in the same way salvation from God is procured for mankind.

As for mutable [human] nature's participation (μετουσία) in the good, it is necessary for such a nature to be subjected to God by means of which we have fellowship (κοινωνία) in this good. Subjection has no place in God's immutable and unchanging power; in it is contemplated every good name, intelligence, incorruptibility and blessedness. This power always remains as it is; neither does it have the capacity to become better nor worse. Also, neither does God's power receive increase in the good, nor a downward inclination to a worse condition. Rather, God's power makes salvation spring up for others while having no other function than bestowing salvation.

What then can reasonably be said as to the meaning of subjection? Everything which has been examined is found quite remote from a proper understanding and discussion about the Only-Begotten [Son] of God. If it is necessary to attribute the kind of subjection spoken of in Luke's Gospel to Christ—"The Lord was obedient [subjected] to his parents until he reached twelve years of age" [2.51]. Neither is the meaning of this text proper for the God who existed before all ages, nor true when applied to his real Father. Christ was tempted in our human nature [literally, 'there,' ἐκεῖ] in everything according to our likeness except sin [Heb 4.15] and advanced through the stages proper to our human existence. — Just as a little child, Christ received a newborn infant's nourishment, that is, butter and milk. Thus, while advancing into adolescence, Christ did not avoid anything related or pertaining to that particular stage of life, but was an example (τύπος) of good conduct (εὐταξία) for that particular age.

Since the understanding of some persons is imperfect regarding these matters, the function of Christ's youth is to lead to a better state by what is more perfect. Because of this, the twelve-year-old child [Jesus] was subject to his mother; Christ showed us that which is perfected through advancement, although he was perfect beforehand. Rightly did he take subjection as a means to the good. He who is perfect in every good and was neither capable of assuming any kind of diminution—because his nature is self-

sufficient and cannot be lessened—is subjected for a reason which thoughtless persons cannot express.

Christ associated himself (συναναστρέφω) with our human nature and experienced the stage of childhood through which he effected the obedience [subjection] proper to this time of youth. It is clear that Christ progressed from that state to a perfect age when he no longer relied upon a mother's authority. His mother urged him to manifest his power in Cana of Galilee when there was a lack of wine at the wedding feast, and wine was needed for the celebration. He did not refuse those in need, but rejected his mother's request as no longer being appropriate for his present age (καιρός) of life. He said, "What do you have to do with me, woman?" [Jn 2.4]. "Do you wish to have power over me now at this stage of my life? Has not my hour come which shows that I have a mind and free will of my own?" If, then, the just measure of our parents' subjection in this life according to the flesh is shaken off—for it has a place in our present existence—no one is able to command Christ whose lordship is forever. For the divine and blessed life is his own which always abides in him, never admitting of transformation due to change.

[M.1309]

Since the Word, the Only-Begotten [Son] of God from the beginning, is alien from every aberration and change, how can what now is not a reality exist afterwards? For the apostle does not say that the Son is always subjected, but that he will be subjected at the final consummation of all things. If subjection is said to be good and worthy of God, how can this good be apart from God? The good is equally in both persons—in the Son who is subjected and in the Father who receives his Son's subjection. Such a good is lacking to both Father and Son at the present. What the Father does not have before all ages, neither does the Son have—at the fulfillment of time this good will be present in both Father and Son, namely the fact of subjection [of Son to Father]. On the other hand, there will be a certain addition and increase in God's own glory, which at present he does not have. How does this relate to what is unchangeable? That which will exist afterwards, but not now, refers to our mutable human nature. If subjection is good, the good now consists of believing in God; if such a good is unworthy of God, neither can it exist now nor in the future. However, the apostle claims that the Son is to be subjected; He is not so at the present.

Does the term 'subjection' have another significance which is far removed from any kind of heretical perversity? What then is it? Perhaps by connecting what has also been written in this part [of First Corinthians] to the text at large, we may obtain an idea of Paul's meaning. When Paul wrote against the Corinthians who had received their faith in the Lord, they held the teaching of the Resurrection as a myth, saying, "How can the dead rise? And what kind of body will they have?" [1 Cor 15.35]. By what diverse and varied ways do bodies return to existence after death and disintegration, after being destroyed either by carnivorous animals, reptiles or animals which swim, fly or are four-footed beasts? Paul therefore sets before the Corinthians many arguments, entreating them not to compare God's power to their own human capacity, nor to estimate anything as being impossible regarding man as well as God. However, one may consider God's greatness from examples well-known to us. Thus, God placed in man the marvelous example of seeds in their bodies which are always renewed by his power [1 Cor 15.37]. God's wisdom is not exhausted. It is found in myriad bodily forms of all descriptions—those which are rational, irrational, airborne and on the earth, as well as those which we see in the heavens, such as the sun and other stars. Each one having been begotten by the divine power is a certain proof that God will resurrect our bodies.

[M.1312]

All things are brought to manifestation not from any underlying matter (ὕλη), but from the divine will acting as matter and substance for such created things; it is easier to mold that which already exists into its proper shape (σχημα) than to bring into being that which had no substance and essence right from the beginning. Therefore, in the text [cf. 1 Cor 15] Paul showed that the first man was dissolved into the earth through sin and was therefore regarded as being of the earth. It followed that all who took their origin from this first man became earthly and mortal. Another consequence necessarily resulted by which man is renewed once again from mortality into immortality. Similarly, the good begotten in human nature was bestowed upon every person as one entity, just as evil was poured into a multitude of persons by one man through succeeding generations. These words then can be used for confirming Paul's teaching. "The first man," he says, "was from the earth; the second man is from heaven. As it was

with the man of dust, so it is with those of the dust; as it is with the man of heaven, so are those who are of heaven" [1 Cor 15.47-48]. Therefore, these and similar reflections confirm the fact of the Resurrection.

By many other arguments, Paul entangled heretics with syllogisms. He showed that the person not believing in the resurrection of the dead does not admit of Christ's Resurrection. Through the web of mutual connections there comes the inevitable conclusion—"If there is no resurrection of the dead, neither has Christ risen. If Christ has not risen, our faith in him is vain" [1 Cor 15.16]. If the proposition is true, namely that Christ is risen from the dead, then it is necessarily true that this connection spoken of is true, that there is a resurrection of the dead. For by a particular demonstration the universal is presented at the same time. On the contrary, if anyone says the universal is false, that is, the resurrection of the dead, neither is the truth found in an individual example, that is, Christ's Resurrection from the dead. Paul therefore compels the Corinthians by syllogisms to accept his teaching on the Resurrection. From it he claims that if the Resurrection does not exist, its universal confirmation is concluded. For with a specific proof the general principle is also revealed. And, on the contrary, if anyone were to say that the general principle is false (that there is a resurrection of the dead), then neither would the specific be found true (that Christ was raised from the dead). Paul adds to this fact that as all have died in Adam, all will be restored to life in Christ. Clearly does Paul here reveal the mystery of the Resurrection. Anyone who looks at what results from the Resurrection readily sees its consequence, that is, the goal for which all men hope and for which they direct their prayers.

[M.1313]

Here then is the object of our treatise. I will first set forth, however, my own understanding of the text, and will then add the Apostle Paul's words as applied to my understanding. What therefore does Paul teach us? It consists in saying that evil will come to nought and will be completely destroyed. The divine, pure goodness will contain in itself every nature endowed with reason; nothing made by God is excluded from his kingdom once everything mixed with some elements of base material has been consumed by refinement in fire. Such things had their origin in God; what was made in the beginning did not receive evil. Paul says this is so. He said that the pure and

undefiled divinity of the Only-Begotten [Son] assumed man's mortal and perishable nature. However, from the entirety of human nature to which the divinity is mixed, the man constituted according to Christ is a kind of first fruits of the common dough (οἶον ἀπαρχή τις τοῦ κοινοῦ φυράματος). It is through this [divinized] man that all mankind is joined to the divinity.

Since every evil was obliterated in Christ—for he did not make sin—the prophet says, “No deceit was found in his mouth” [Is 53.9]. Evil was destroyed along with sin, as well as the death which resulted; for death is simply the result of sin. Christ assumed from death both the beginning of evil's destruction and the dissolution of death; then, as it were, a certain order was consequently added. Decrease of the good always results by straying from its principle, while the good is found closer to us insofar as it lies in each one's dignity and power; thus, a result follows from the action preceding it. Therefore, after the man in Christ, who became the first fruits of our human nature, received in himself the divinity, He became the first fruits of those who have fallen asleep and the first born from the dead once the pangs of death have been loosened. So then, after this person has completely separated himself from sin and has utterly denied in himself the power of death and destroyed its lordship and authority and might...if anyone like Paul may be found who became a mighty imitator of Christ in his rejection of evil...such a person will fall in behind the first fruits at Christ's coming (παρουσία).

And, on the other hand—I say this as an example—there is Timothy, who as much as he could, was also imitating his teacher; but there are other persons not quite like him who, one after another, suffer little by little a loss of goodness and are found to follow behind certain people who are always ready to anticipate and lead until the followers, by continual imitations, resemble (reach) their leaders in whom there is little good because evil abounds. In the same way, there is a conformity that comes from those who are less flawed and, as a consequence, turn from those who excel in evil by following their own inclinations and who are driven back from better things until at the last gasp of evil, growth in goodness achieves the destruction of evil. Similarly, by a growing resemblance to less evil persons, those who excelled in doing evil enter the way of persons being led into what is better until through progress in

[M.1316]

the good they put an end to their evil ways by the destruction of wickedness. The goal of our hope is that nothing contrary to the good is left, but the divine life permeates everything. It completely destroys death, having earlier removed sin which, as it is said, held dominion over all mankind. Therefore, every wicked authority and domination has been destroyed in us. No longer do any of our passions rule our [human] nature, since it is necessary that none of them dominate—all are subjected to the one who rules over all. Subjection to God is complete alienation from evil. When we are removed from evil in imitation of the first fruits [Christ], our entire nature is mixed with this selfsame fruits. One body has been formed with the good as predominant; our body's entire nature is united to the divine, pure nature. This is what we mean by the Son's subjection—when, in his body, Christ rightly has the subjection brought to him, and he effects in us the grace of subjection.

Such is the understanding of these teachings which we have accepted from the great Saint Paul. It is time now to quote the apostle himself on these matters. "For as in Adam all die, so also in Christ shall all be made alive. But each in his own order: Christ the first fruits, then at his coming those who belong to Christ. Then comes the end when he delivers the kingdom to God the Father after destroying every rule and every authority and power. For he must reign until he has put all his enemies under his feet. The last enemy to be destroyed is death. 'For God has put all things in subjection under his feet' [a reference to Ps 8.6]. But when it says, 'All things are put in subjection under him,' it is plain that he is accepted who put all things under him. When all things are subjected to him, then the Son himself will also be subjected to him who puts all things under him, that God may be everything to everyone" [1 Cor 15.22-28].

In the last of his words [above], Paul plainly speaks of the nonexistence (ἀνύπαρκτος) of evil by stating that God is in all things and present to each one of them. It is clear that God will truly be in all things when no evil will be found. It is not proper for God to be present in evil; thus, he will not be in everything as long as some evil remains. If it compels us to truly believe that God is in everything, then evil cannot be seen as existing along with faith; for God cannot be present in evil. However, for God to be

[M.1317]

present in all things, Paul shows that he, the hope of our life, is simple and uniform. No longer can our new existence be now compared to the many and varied examples of this present life. Paul shows, by the words quoted above, that God becomes all things for us. He appears as the necessities of our present life, or as examples for partaking in the divinity. Thus, for God to be our food, it is proper to understand him as being eaten; the same applies to drink, clothing, shelter, air, location, wealth, enjoyment, beauty, health, strength, prudence, glory, blessedness and anything else judged good which our human nature needs. Words such as these signify what is proper to God.

We therefore learn by the examples mentioned above that the person in God has everything which God himself has. To have God means nothing else than to be united with him. Unity then means to be one body with him as Paul states, for all who are joined to the one body of Christ by participation are one body with him. When the good pervades everything, then the entirety of Christ's body will be subjected to God's vivifying power. Thus, the subjection of this body will be said to be the subjection of the Son himself as united to his own body, that is, the Church. Regarding this point, Paul says to the Colossians, "Now I rejoice in my sufferings for your sake, and in my flesh I complete what is lacking in Christ's afflictions for the sake of his body, that is, the Church of which I became a minister according to his dispensation" [Col 1.24]. To the Church at Corinth Paul says, "You are the body of Christ and his members" [1 Cor 12.27]. To the Ephesians Paul more clearly puts this teaching when saying, "Rather, speaking the truth in love, we are to grow up in every way into him who is the head, into Christ, from whom the whole body, joined and knit together by every joint with which it is supplied, when each part is working properly, makes bodily growth and upbuilds itself in love" [Eph 4.15-16].

Christ eternally builds himself up by those who join themselves to him in faith. A person ceases to build himself up when the growth and completion of his body attains its proper measure. No longer does he lack anything added to his body by building, since he is wholly constructed upon the foundation of prophets and apostles. When faith is added, the apostle says, "Let us attain to the unity of the faith

and of the knowledge of the Son of God, to mature manhood, to the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ" [Eph 2.13].

If the head, in turn, builds up the body, it joins, connects and brings together everything else for which it was born according to the measure of its function, such as the hand, foot, eye, ear or any other part completing the body in proportion to each person's faith. By so carrying out these functions, the body builds itself up as Paul says above. It is clear that when this is accomplished, Christ receives in himself all who are joined to him through the fellowship of his body. Christ makes everyone as limbs of his own body—even if there are many such limbs, the body is one. Therefore, by uniting us to himself, Christ is our unity; and having become one body with us through all things, he looks after us all. Subjection to God is our chief good when all creation resounds as one voice, when everything in heaven, on earth and under the earth bends the knee to him, and when every tongue will confess that Jesus Christ is Lord [Phil 2.10]. Then when every creature has become one body and is joined in Christ through obedience to one another, he will bring into subjection his own body to the Father.

[M.1320]

Let not what is said here sound strange to anyone, for we ascribe to the soul a certain means of expression taken from the body. That which is read as pertaining to the fruitfulness of the land may also be applied to one's own soul: "Eat, drink, and be merry" [Lk 11.19]. This sentence may be referred to the fulness of the soul. Thus, the subjection of the Church's body is brought to him who dwells in the soul. Since everything which has been created is sustained in him, salvation is explained through subjection as the book of Psalms suggests. As a result, we learn that faith means not being apart from those who are saved. This we learn from the Apostle Paul.

Paul signifies, by the Son's subjection, the destruction of death. Therefore, these two elements concur, that is, when death will be no more, and everything will be completely changed into life. The Lord is life. According to the apostle, Christ will have access to the Father with his entire body when he will hand over the kingdom to our God and Father. Christ's body, as it is often said, consists of human nature in its entirety to which he has been united. Because of this, Christ is named Lord by Paul, as mediator between

God and man [1 Tim 2.5]. He who is in the Father and has lived with men accomplishes intercession. Christ unites all mankind to himself, and to the Father through himself, as the Lord says in the Gospel, "As you, Father, are in me, and I am in you, that they may be one in us" [Jn 17.21]. This clearly shows that having united himself to us, he who is in the Father effects our union (συνάφεια) with this very same Father.

The words contained in the Gospel then add, "The glory which you have given to me I have given to them" [vs. 22]. I think that Christ's own glory is meant to be the Holy Spirit which he has given to his disciples by breathing upon them, for what is scattered cannot otherwise be united unless joined together by the Holy Spirit's unity. "Anyone who does not have the Spirit of Christ does not belong to him" [Rom 8.9]. The Spirit is glory, as Christ says of the Father: "Glorify me with the glory which I had with you before the world was made" [Jn 17.5]. The Word is God who has the Father's glory and became flesh during these last days. It is necessary for the flesh to become what the Word is (that is, to become divine) by uniting itself to him; this is effected when the flesh receives that which the Word had before the world was made. This is none other than the Holy Spirit, that same Holy Spirit existing before the ages together with the Father and the Son. Hence, the text says, "The glory which you have given me, I have given to them" [M.1321] in order that "the unity given through the Holy Spirit to me might be given to you through me."

Let us look at the words following those quoted above from the Gospel: "That they may be one as we are one. You in me and I in them, because I and you are one, in order that they may be perfectly one" [Jn 17.21-23]. I think that there is no need for exegesis of these words which agree with what we have already explained above, for the text itself clearly sets forth the teaching on unity. "In order that they may be one as we are one." For it cannot be otherwise— "that all may be one as we are one"—unless the disciples, being separated from everything dividing them from each other, are united together "as we are one," that "they might be one, as we are one." How can it be that "I am in them?" For "I alone cannot be in them unless you also are in them, since both I and you are one. Thus, they might be perfectly one, having been perfected in us, for we are one."

Such grace is more clearly shown by the following words: "I have loved them as you have loved me" [Jn 17.23]. If the Father loves the Son, all of us have become Christ's body through faith in him. Thus, the Father who loves his own Son loves the Son's body just as the Son himself. We are the Son's body. Therefore, the sense of Paul's words becomes clear—the Son's subjection to his Father signifies that he knows our entire human nature and has become its salvation. The text Paul is referring to might become clearer to us from his other insights. I especially recall one of his many reverent testimonies without quoting it at length. Paul says of himself that "with Christ I am crucified. It is no longer I who live, but Christ who lives in me" [Gal 2.20]. If Paul no longer lives, but Christ lives in him, everything which Paul does and says is referred to Christ living in him. Paul's words are spoken by Christ when he says, "Do you desire proof that Christ is speaking in me?" [2 Cor 13.3]. Paul claims that the good works of the Gospel are not his; rather, he attributes them to the grace of Christ dwelling within him. If Christ living in Paul works and speaks those things as a result of this indwelling, Paul has relinquished everything which formerly dominated him when he was a blasphemer, persecutor and behaved arrogantly. Paul looked to the true good alone, and by it made himself submissive and obedient.

[M.1324]

Once Paul has been subjected to God, he is brought to the One who lives, speaks and effects good things. The supreme good is subjection to God. This fact which occurred in one person [Paul] will be harmoniously applied to every human being "when," as the Lord says, "the Gospel will be preached throughout the world" [Mk 16.15]. All who have rejected the old man with its deeds and desires have received the Lord who, of course, effects the good done by them. The highest of all good things is salvation effected in us through estrangement from evil. However, we are separated from evil for no other reason than for being united to God through subjection. Subjection to God then refers to Christ dwelling in us. What is beautiful is his; what is good is from him, which God expresses through the prophets. Because subjection is both beautiful and good—for Christ himself demonstrated this to us—the good is entirely from him who is good by nature, as the prophet says.

No one who looks at the term 'subjection' as generally

used spurns it. The great Paul's wisdom knew how to use the outward appearance of words. He knew how to adapt such appearances by joining them together in his own mind to see if the common usage of words may be employed for other meanings. One such occurrence of this reads as follows: "He emptied himself" [Phil 2.3]; and "No one will make void my boasting" [1 Cor 9.15]; and "faith is made void" [Rom 4.14]; and "In order that the cross of Christ may not be without effect." What use are these expressions to their author? Who can judge him saying, "I am desirous of you" [1 Th 2.8]? Such words as these show a loving attitude.

From where does Paul's lack of arrogance, which is love, come? It is revealed through his statement that love does not boast [1 Cor 13.4]. Strife is full of disputes and is vengeful as the term ἐριθεία signifies [selfish or factious ambition]. It is clear that ἐριθος [a worker in wool] is derived from the term ἐριθεία, and we are accustomed to signifying diligent work with regards to wool (ἐρία) by the term ἐριθεία. Paul, however, finds pleasure in such cold etymologies, and by them he desires to show the sense intended by these words. Many other examples may be examined closely in which the apostle's words are found. They do not serve the common use of speech, but Paul freely brings his own peculiar understanding to them while avoiding the common usage. Hence, another meaning of subjection is understood by Paul as opposite to the common one.

The exposition of the term 'subjection' as used here does not mean the forceful, necessary subjection of enemies as is commonly meant; while on the other hand, salvation is clearly interpreted by subjection. However, clear proof of the former meaning is definitely made when Paul makes a twofold distinction of the term 'enemy.' He says that enemies are to be subjected; indeed, they are to be destroyed. Therefore, the enemy to be blotted out from human nature is death, whose principle is sin along with its domination and power. In another sense, the enemies of God which are to be subjected to him attach themselves to sin after deserting God's kingdom. Paul mentions this in his Epistle to the Romans: "For if we have been enemies, we have been reconciled to God" [Rom 5.10]. Here Paul calls subjection reconciliation, one term indicating salvation by another word. For as salvation is brought near to

[M.1325]

us by subjection, Paul says in another place, "Being reconciled, we shall be saved in this life" [Rom 5.10]. Therefore, Paul says that such enemies are to be subjected to God and the Father; death no longer is to have authority. This is shown by Paul saying, "Death will be destroyed," a clear statement that the power of evil will be utterly removed: persons are called enemies of God by disobedience, while those who have become the Lord's friends are persuaded by Paul saying, "We are ambassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech you by us: 'Be reconciled to God ' " [2 Cor 6.20].

According to the promise made in the Gospel, we are no longer slaves of the Lord; but once reconciled, we are numbered among his friends. However, "it is necessary for him to reign, until he places his enemies under his feet." We reverently take this, I believe, as Christ valiantly holding sway in his power. Then the strong man's ability in battle will cease when all opposition to the good will be destroyed. Once the entire kingdom is gathered to himself, Christ hands it over to God and the Father who unites everything to himself. For the kingdom will be handed over to the Father, that is, all persons will yield to God [Christ], through whom we have access to the Father.

When all enemies have become God's footstool, they will receive a trace of divinity in themselves. Once death has been destroyed—for if there are no persons who will die, not even death would exist—then we will be subjected to him; but this is not understood by some sort of servile humility. Our subjection, however, consists of a kingdom, incorruptibility and blessedness living in us; this is Paul's meaning of being subjected to God. Christ perfects his good in us by himself, and effects in us what is pleasing to him. According to our limited understanding of Paul's great wisdom which we received, we have only understood part of it. The apostle's purpose was not to expose heretical teachings, which is what you would gather from the text being treated. If what was said by our inquiry has been sufficient for you, it must be attributed to God's grace. Should our inquiry appear insufficient, we will eagerly offer its completion, if indeed you make it known to us by writing and if through our prayers what is hidden has been manifested by the Holy Spirit.

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